A TEXTUAL HISTORY OF CICERO'S *ACADEMICI LIBRI*

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TERENCE J. HUNT

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BY

TERENCE J. HUNT

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PREFACE

This study was originally submitted as a dissertation for a university degree in 1967; this book is the result of a complete re-examination of the subject, started in 1976. The principal difference between the two versions is the addition here of more codicological and historical matter and an extensive study of the printed editions.

I owe an immense debt to several scholars: to Professor John Glucker of Tel Aviv University for teaching me textual criticism in the first place and suggesting the *Academicus Primus* as a fruitful text to study; to Professor Richard Rouse of the University of California at Los Angeles for re-kindling my interest in the subject after a long lapse of time and encouraging me to go into print; to Professor Michael Reeve of the University of Cambridge for reading various drafts of this book and suggesting improvements; to Leighton Reynolds of Brasenose College, Oxford, for keeping me informed of developments in the manuscript tradition of the *De Finibus*; and to Professor Albinia de la Mare of Kings College, London, for passing her expert eye over microfilms and identifying copyists of whom I had never even heard.

I have also received help in the acquisition of microfilms from Professor Peter Wiseman of Exeter University, and from Mrs Mary Connelly and Miss Sarah Gayton of the University Library, Exeter, and have been able to borrow those microfilms on a long loan through the generosity of the Librarian. In addition I would like to thank all those librarians, known and unknown, who gave me help with manuscripts in their own institutions. The majority of the ground work for this book has been carried out in the British Library, the Warburg Institute, and the Bodleian Library; I would like to take this opportunity of thanking everyone in those institutions who has helped me pursue my interest.

That the gestation period of this book has been long is due to the unsympathetic nature of my employment. The *Academicus Primus* has had to compete in the evenings and at week-ends with all the other necessities and pleasures of modern life, and holidays have mostly been arranged around manuscript libraries. The *Academicus Primus*, it will be discovered, offers a privileged window on the *fortuna*

of the more considerable *De Finibus*; both appear to have survived through some partially common tradition. The present work should serve as a starting-point for the scholar who takes it upon himself to study the textual tradition of the *De Finibus*; were I granted another life-time, I would consider it a duty to undertake that work.

London, August 1997 Terence J. Hunt

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Conspectus Siglorum

Ambr.1	Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, D.94 sup.
Ambr.2	Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C.55 inf.
Ambr.3	Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, F.71 sup.
Amst	Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibl., I.C.47
Ball	Oxford, Balliol College, 248D
Bas	Basle, unidentified collation in Goerenz (1810)
Berl	Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl., Diez B. Santen 74
Bodl.1	Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Auctarium F. 1,12
Bodl.2	Oxford, Bodleian Libr., D'Orville 84
Bon(1)	Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria, 2228 (Lat. 1096), fols. 208^v–214^v
Bon(2)	Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria, 2228 (Lat. 1096), fols. 333^v–339^v
Burn	London, British Libr., Burney 165
C	Cesena, Bibl. Malatestiana, S.XII 6
Cant	Cambridge, University Libr., Add. 2582
Ces	Cesena, Bibl. Malatestiana, S.XVIII 1
Chis	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi H V 147
Conv	Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Conventi Soppressi 131
Dresd.1	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibl., Dc 106
Dresd.2	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibl., Dc 120
F	Firenze, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Magliabecchi XXI 30
Fes	Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Fiesole 188
Frei	Freiburg-in-Breisgau, Universitätsbibl., Lat. 364
Gadd	Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Gaddi 90 sup. 78
Gand	Gent, Centrale Bibl., 68
Ged	Gdansk, Bibl. Gdanska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2388
Harl.1	London, British Libr., Harley 3953
Harl.2	London, British Libr., Harley 6327
Harl.3	London, British Libr., Harley 5291
Holm	Stockholm, Kungliga Bibl., Va 12
L	Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzi 37
Laur.1	Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 76,4
Laur.2	Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 90 sup. 77,1
Laur.3	Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 83,7
Leid	Leiden, Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit, Perizon in fol. 25
Linc	Oxford, Lincoln College, Lat. 38
Lond	London, collection of Nicholas Barker
Lucc	Lucca, Bibl Capitolare Feliniana, 562

Ma	Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, 9116
Mon.1	München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm 328
Mon.2	München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm 763
Mu	Modena, Bibl. Estense, Lat. 213
N_1	Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, IV.G.43
N_2	Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, IV.G.46
Neap.1	Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, IV.G.22
Neap.2	Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, IV.G.44
Neap.3	Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, ex Vienna Lat. 57
Ott.1	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobon. Lat. 1196
Ott.2	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobon. Lat. 1944
Ott.3	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Ottobon. Lat. 1984
P	Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 6331
Pal.1	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Palatin. Lat. 1511
Pal.2	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Palatin. Lat. 1516
Par	Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 17154
Perus	Perugia, Bibl. Comunale Augusta, 530 (H 14)
Pier	New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr., M.497
Rem	Reims, Bibl. Municipale 872
Ricc.1	Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana, 504
Ricc.2	Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana, 513
Rom	Editio princeps, Sweynheim & Pannartz, Rome, 1471
Ross	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Rossi 559
Sant	St. Andrews, University Libr., PA 6295.A2A00
Scor.1	El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo, g.IV.15
Scor.2	El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo, T.III.18
Urb	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 319
V	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 1720
Vanc	Vancouver, University Libr. of British Columbia, 87–366
Vat.1	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 6837
Vat.2	Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 11512
Ven	Venezia, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, Lat. VI 259 (2879)
Vict	Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 14761
Vind	Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibl., Lat. 231
Wash	Washington, Folger Shakespeare Libr., SM 9
Yal	New Haven, Yale University Libr., 284

Sigla of Reconstructed Manuscripts

Siglum	Reconstructed from:
α	Mon.2, Neap.2
γ	F, φ
Γ	μ, γ

η	Ott.3, Scor.1, Vind
κ	Ricc.2, Bodl.1, Bodl.2, Bon(1), Mon.1, Par
λ	Holm, Ott.1
μ	Ma (v), Mu, N_1
ν	C, N_2
ξ	Ces, Ross
τ	Dresd.2, Wash, Lucc, λ
φ	L, V
ψ	Neap.3, η
$ψ^1$	ψ, Ambr.2, Harl.2
$ψ^2$	$ψ^1$, Frei, Linc

Works of Cicero

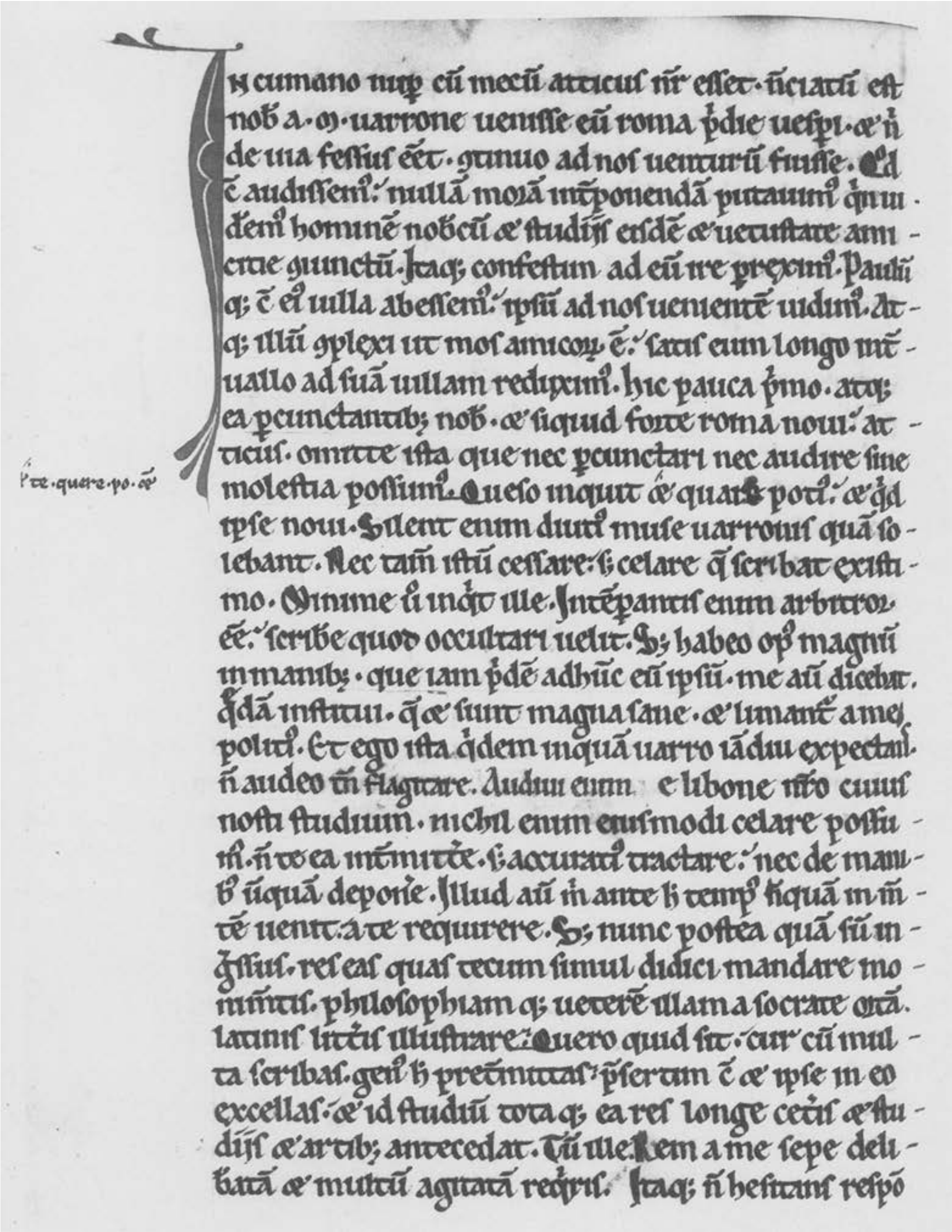
Acad	*Academici Libri*
Ac1	*Academicus Primus*
Ac2	*Academicus Secundus*
Ac3	*Academicus Tertius*
Ac4	*Academicus Quartus*
Agr	*De Lege Agraria*
Am	*De Amicitia*
Amer	*Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*
Arch	*Pro Archia*
Att	*Epistulae ad Atticum*
Balb	*Pro Balbo*
Brut	*Brutus*
Caec	*Pro Caecina*
Cael	*Pro Caelio*
Catil	Pseudo-Cicero, *Invectivae in Catilinam*
Cluent	*Pro Cluentio*
Com	*Pro Quinto Roscio Comoedo*
De Orat	*De Oratore*
Deiot	*Pro Rege Deiotaro*
Diff	Pseudo-Cicero, *Differentiae*
Div	*De Divinatione*
Dom	*De Domo Sua*
Exil	*Pridie quam in Exilium Iret*
Fam	*Epistulae ad Familiares*
Fat	*De Fato*
Fin	*De Finibus*
Flacc	*Pro Flacco*
Har	*De Haruspicum Responso*
Her	Auctor *ad Herennium*
Hort	*Hortensius*
Inv	*De Inventione*

Leg	*De Legibus*
Lig	*Pro Ligario*
Luc	*Lucullus*
Man	*Pro Lege Manilia*
Marc	*Pro Marcello*
Milo	*Pro Milone*
Mur	*Pro Murena*
Nat	*De Natura Deorum*
Off	*De Officiis*
Opt	*De Optimo Genere Oratorum*
Orat	*Orator*
Parad	*Paradoxa Stoicorum*
Part	*Partitiones Oratoriae*
Perd	*Pro Rabirio Perduellionis Reo*
Pet	Quintus Cicero, *De Petitione Consulatus*
Phil	*Philippicae*
Planc	*Pro Plancio*
Piso	*In Pisonem*
Post	*Pro Rabirio Postumo*
Prov	*De Provinciis Consularibus*
Quint	*Epistulae ad Quintum Fratrem*
Quir	*Post Reditum ad Quirites*
Sall	Pseudo-Cicero, *Invectivae in Sallustium*
Senat	*Post Reditum ad Senatum*
Sen	*De Senectute*
Sest	*Pro Sestio*
Somn	*Somnium Scipionis*
Sulla	*Pro Sulla*
Syn	Pseudo-Cicero, *Synonyma*
Tim	*Timaeus*
Top	*Topica*
Tusc	*Tusculanae Disputationes*
Vat	*In Vatinium*
Verr	*Orationes in Verrem*

Frequently Cited Publications

ADB	*Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Leipzig
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, Vienna
DBI	*Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Rome
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford
IMU	*Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*, Padua
LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau
MAH	*Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, Rome

NDB	*Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Berlin
RE	*Real Encyclopädie* (Pauly Wissowa), Stuttgart
RF	*Rivista di Filologia*, Turin
RHT	*Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, Paris
RIL	*Rendiconti del Reale Istituto Lombardo*, Milan
RP	*Revue de Philologie*, Paris
SIFC	*Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, Florence
ST	*Studi e Testi*, Vatican City
YULG	*Yale University Library Gazette*, New Haven



In cumano nuper cum mecum atticus noster esset. nuntiatum est
nobis a. M. uarrone uenisse eum roma pridie uesperi. et nisi
de uia fessus esset. continuo ad nos uenturum fuisse. Quod
cum audissemus: nullam moram interponendam putauimus quin ui-
deremus hominem nobiscum et studiis eisdem et uetustate ami-
citie coniunctum. Itaque confestim ad eum ire perreximus. Paulum
que cum eius uilla abessemus: ipsum ad nos uenientem uidimus. At-
que illum complexi ut mos amicorum est: satis eum longo inter-
uallo ad suam uillam reduximus. Hic pauca primo. atque
ea percunctantibus nobis. et siquid forte roma noui: at-
ticus. omitte ista que nec percunctari nec audire sine
molestia possumus. Queso inquit et quare potius: et quid
ipse noui. Silent enim diutius muse uarronis quam so-
lebant. Nec tamen istum cessare: sed celare que scribat existi-
mo. Minime uero inquit ille. Intemperantis enim arbitror
esse: scribere quod occultari uelit. Sed habeo opus magnum
in manibus. que iam pridem adhuc cum ipsum. me autem dicebat.
quedam institui. que et sunt magna sane. et limantur a me
politius. Et ego ista quidem inquam uarro iamdiu expectans
non audeo tamen flagitare. Audiui enim e libone nostro cuius
nosti studium. nichil enim eiusmodi celare possu-
mus. non te ea intermittere. sed accuratius tractare: nec de mani-
bus umquam deponere. Illud autem mihi ante hoc tempus numquam in men-
tem uenit: a te requirere. Sed nunc postea quam sum in-
gressus. res eas quas tecum simul didici mandare mo-
nimentis. philosophiam que ueterem illam a socrate ortam.
latinis litteris illustrare: Quero quid sit. cur cum mul-
ta scribas. genus hoc pretermittas: presertim cum et ipse in eo
excellas. et id studium totaque ea res longe ceteris et stu-
diis et artibus antecedat. Tum ille. Rem a me sepe deli-
beratam et multum agitatam requiris. Itaque non hesitans respon

Plate 1: Paris, Bibl. Nat. Lat. 6331, Fol. 85v

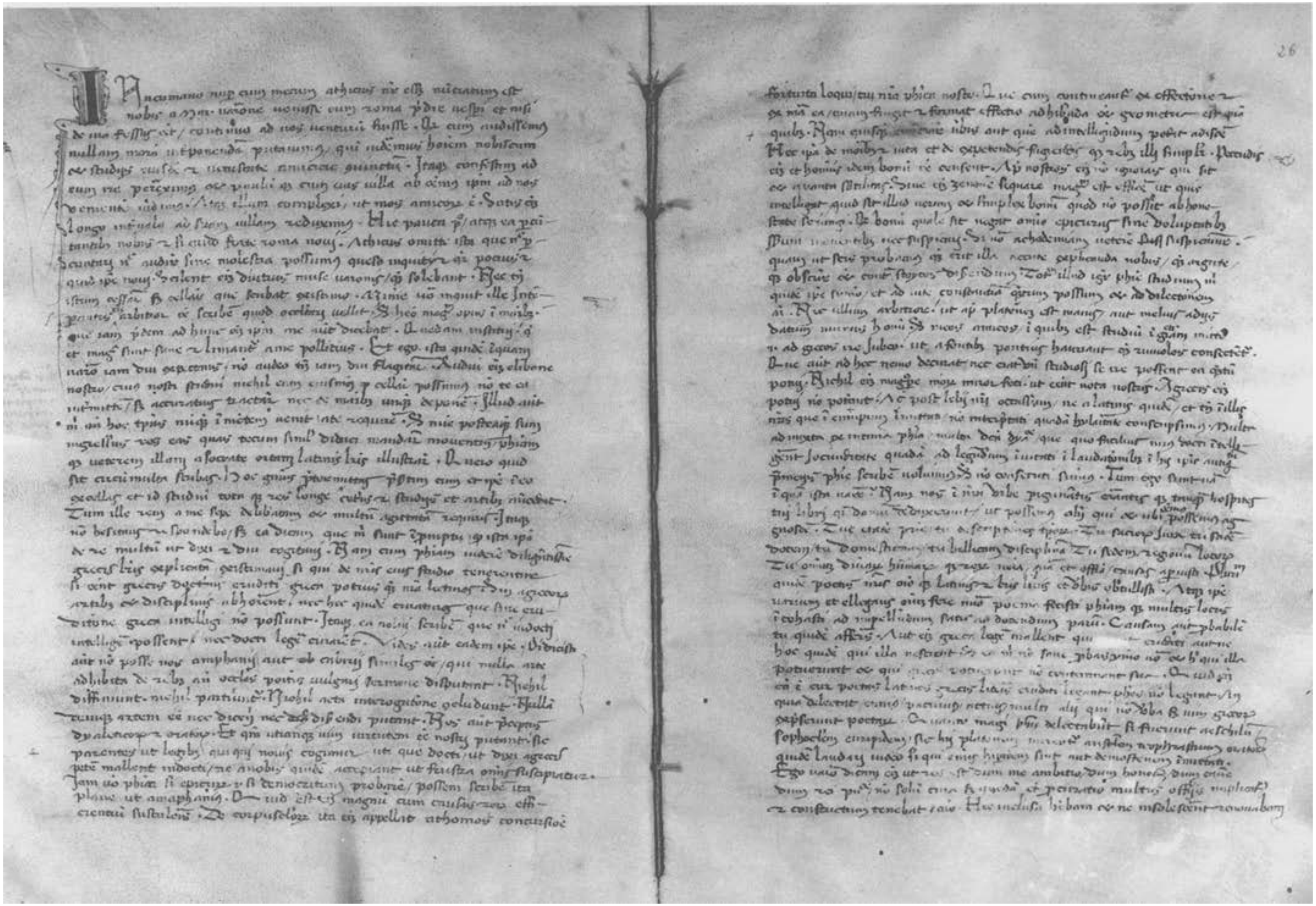


Plate 2: Cesena, Bibl. Malatest. S.XII.6, Fols. 25^{v}–26^{r}

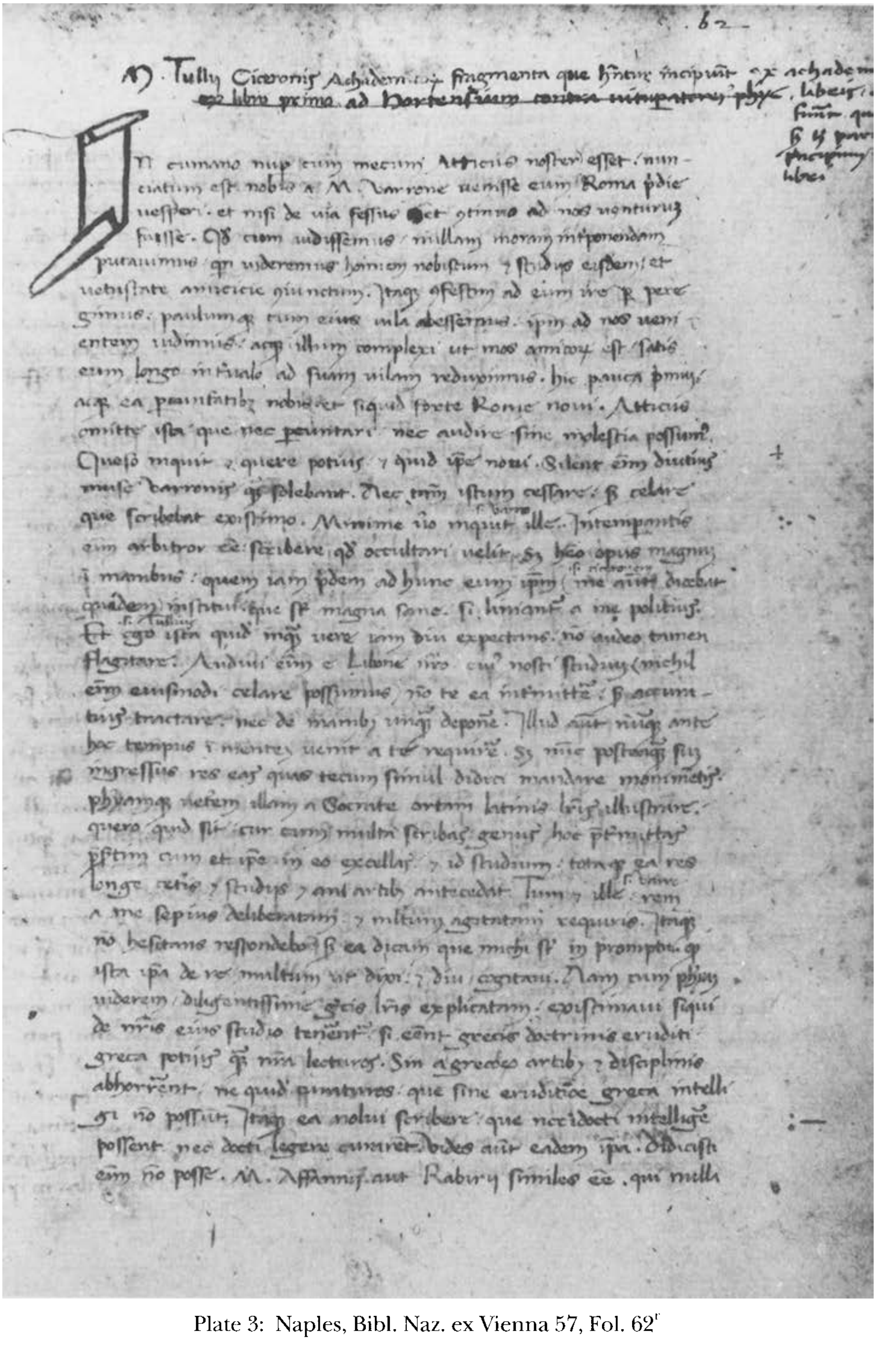


Plate 3: Naples, Bibl. Naz. ex Vienna 57, Fol. 62r

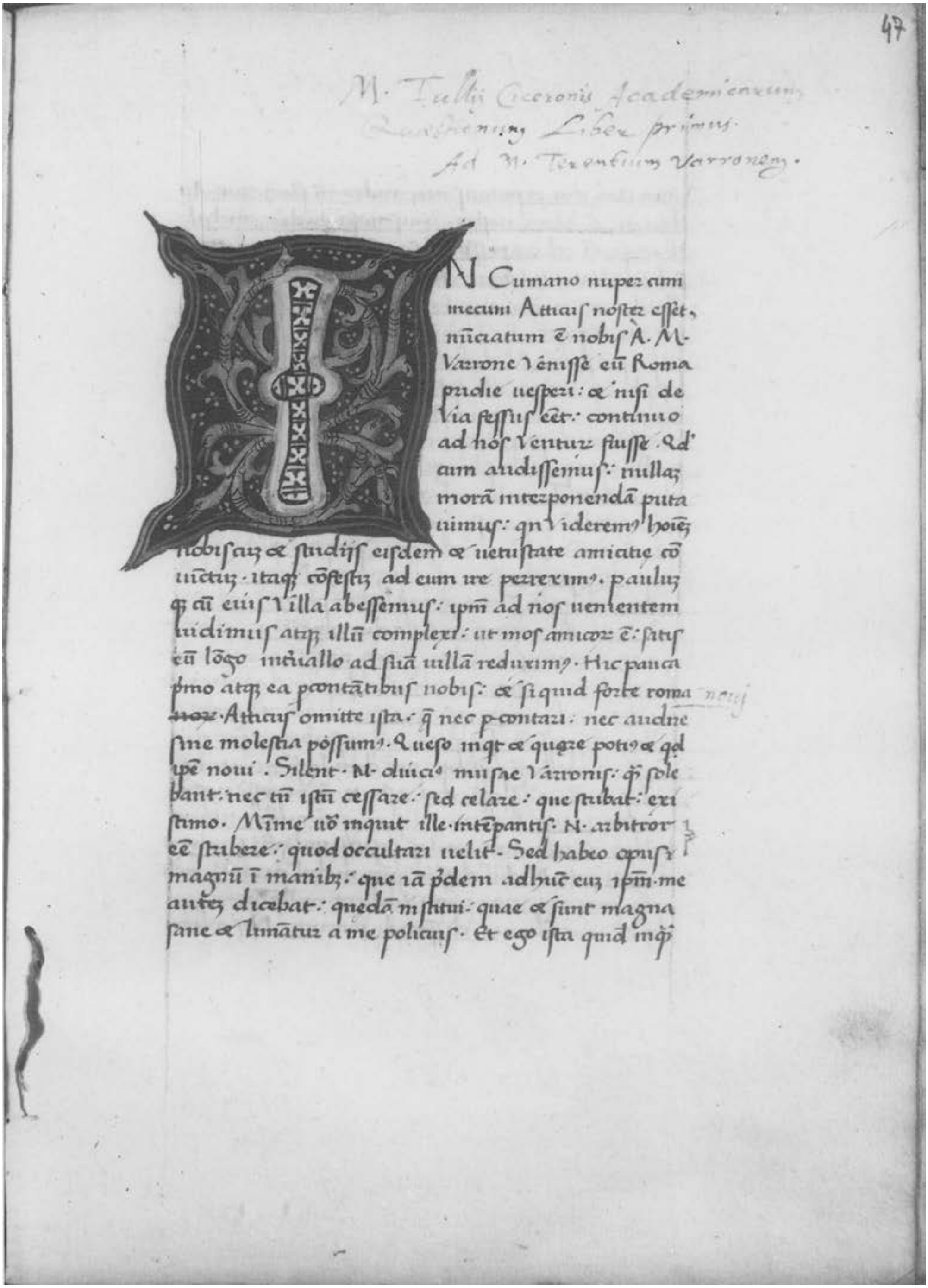


Plate 4: Stockholm, Kung. Bibl. Va 12, Fol. 47r

INTRODUCTION

The last edition of Cicero's *Academicus Primus* based on the collation of manuscripts was that of Otto Plasberg; ninety years have now passed since the appearance of his *editio maior* and doubt has been cast on the quality of Plasberg's work. It has been suggested, for example, that 'one is not certain that Plasberg has said the last word on these matters',[1] and, in a wider context, ill-considered remarks have been made, such as 'all Cicero's philosophical works are preserved in Carolingian manuscripts',[2] which are well wide of the mark.

The purposes of this study are several: firstly, to re-examine the manuscript tradition of the *Academicus Primus* and to add flesh to the bones which Plasberg exhumed; secondly, to investigate several problems which have surrounded the work, such as the cause and occasion of its fragmentation, and to treat the text of the work as an object of historical research over two millennia.

In undertaking this study I was aware of the risk that I might merely confirm Plasberg's findings; but enough has come out of the study to justify the effort, and a clearer picture has emerged of the *fortuna* of the work, from Cicero's time down to the present day. In general terms, Plasberg's reputation as a careful scholar is vindicated, so far as he went: if only the detailed workings which lay behind his conclusions had been published, then doubts might never have arisen. As it was, Plasberg kept delaying a discussion of the textual tradition—from the *editio maior* of the *Paradoxa, Academicus Primus, Lucullus*, and *Timaeus* of 1908 to the third volume, which never materialised. The treatment of manuscripts in the smaller edition of the *Academicus Primus* and *Lucullus* of 1922 handles the principal families in some detail, but does not attempt to relate the members of these families to one another. The *deteriores* are barely mentioned, although, as an afterthought (*Charta ne vacet sine usu* . . .), forty-one

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[1] Schmitt, 47 n. 17. Earlier, Reid, 46, concluded that 'any future examination of MSS is not likely to contribute much to the study of this portion of the work [i.e. the *Academicus Primus*]'.

[2] Douglas, 158.

manuscripts are listed in their appropriate *stirpes*. Plasberg made no attempt, however, to place the tradition of the *Academicus Primus* in any historical context.

The current study owes its form to the excellent treatment of the tradition of the *De Legibus* by P.L. Schmidt; I have followed his conventions on codicological description, nomenclature of manuscripts, and overall structure of the work. To this I have added several areas of interest in the description of manuscripts, and I have attempted to take the historical picture back beyond the time of Charlemagne and forward from the emergence of the printed edition.

Manuscripts are described according to the following schema:

Place, library, collection, shelf-mark (= *siglum*)[3]

Sources: name of author with publication details and page reference; source of my collation (microfilm or photocopy of whole ms. or *Ac1* only); date seen. Plate no. (folio no.).

Characteristics: parchment/paper (watermarks: Briquet ref.); no. of folios; size of folio; no. of lines per folio; no. of columns if not one; place of origin; date; no. of hands; type of script; corrections; marginalia; catch-words; gathering; former shelf-marks.

Contents: (hand no.) cumulative work no., author, work name [abbreviated for Cicero] with start and end folios for *Ac1* only, correspondences between change of work and new gathering identified by oblique sign (/).

Inscription: [of *Ac1*]: (folio no. if not same as start of *Ac1*) text.

Subscription: [of *Ac1*]: (folio no. if not same as end of *Ac1*) text.

Ex-libris: (folio no.) text.

Colophon: (folio no.) text.

History: details (where no reference is given, the information will be found in the sources listed).

Use: editors of *Ac1* and all other works with *sigla* applied.

[3] All place-names are given in the native-language form, as recommended by J. Fohlen, 'Etudes récentes sur les manuscrits classiques latins', *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 105.

Where a manuscript has already been described by Schmidt, an abbreviated description is given here.

The *sigla* employed by Plasberg are unsatisfactory, consisting of Greek minuscules to indicate extant manuscripts, non-extant reconstructions, and groups of manuscripts. It is virtually impossible to reconcile Plasberg's *sigla* with those used by the few other editors of the *Academicus Primus* who consulted manuscripts, and with those for the same manuscripts used by editors of the other works of Cicero contained therein. In arriving at a set of *sigla*, I have used the following general rules:

1. For manuscripts which should feature in a critical apparatus of the *Academicus Primus*, I have attempted to use a single, majuscule Roman letter which bears some resemblance to the present location of the manuscript (C, F, L, P, V). Where this has proved impossible, I have used either a majuscule plus minuscule (Ma, Mu), or a majuscule plus subscript number (N_1, N_2).
2. For manuscripts which are not required in a reconstruction of the text, I have used longer *sigla*, which identify the present location of a manuscript. In addition I have tried to keep exactly the same identity as Schmidt, where a manuscript contains both the *Academicus Primus* and *De Legibus* (n.b. Pier for Pierpont Morgan M.497 in place of Schmidt's historical Corv).
3. Greek characters are used only for reconstructed manuscripts, and not as a convenient short-hand for the summation of extant manuscripts which reconstruct their ancestor. For reasons of continuity I have reused several of Plasberg's *sigla*, but have slightly changed the meaning of some of them: γ and μ, which Plasberg used for extant manuscripts, to which I have assigned the *sigla* Ged and Mu, are now used for the hyparchetypes of Γ; ν, which Plasberg used for what I call N_2, is now used for the parent of N_2 and C; φ, which Plasberg used for what I call L, is now used for the parent of L and V. Whereas Plasberg used Greek symbols for families of manuscripts among the *deteriores*, I have retained those symbols where they are required, and dropped them where they are represented by extant manuscripts. I have introduced several more *sigla*, where they are required.

All known previous *sigla* are given under *Use* with the description of each manuscript.

Unlike Schmidt, I have collated the *whole* of every known manuscript copy of the *Academicus Primus*. Obviously with a text of the size of the *Academicus Primus* (approximately one quarter of the *De Legibus*) and with the number of extant copies of the work (seventy against ninety-six of the *De Legibus*), it is a much more feasible proposition (collation of a copy of the *Academicus Primus* takes between three and six hours, depending on the number of errors which need to be recorded and the legibility of the script, humanistic hands being much easier to read than gothic). Of these seventy copies I have handled fifty-seven in person. In addition, I have collated over a hundred printed editions (indicated in the list of printed editions in Appendix B by a preceding asterisk).

Plasberg listed fifty-five manuscripts of the *Academicus Primus*.[4] The remainder came to light as follows: three (Cant, Sant and Holm) from Schmidt; six (Bodl.2, C, Frei, Pier, Vat.2 and Yal) from library catalogues; three (Berl, Lucc and Ven) from notification by Professor Reeve, one (Ross) by Professor Rouse, one (Lond) by Professor de la Mare, and one (Rem) by L.D. Reynolds. In addition, two 'lost' manuscripts which were used by Plasberg were found by Professor Reeve (Neap.3 = Vindob. Lat. 3160) and Professor de la Mare (Vanc = Sam. Alani apud Reid). While I cannot hope to have tracked down all surviving manuscripts of the *Academicus Primus*, I hope that, as new manuscripts come to light, they can be placed in the tradition by reference to the distinctive readings which are given in this book.

Throughout this book I have attempted to abbreviate, where possible, to save long-winded repetitions;[5] thus, in lists of manuscript contents, notes and footnotes, titles of the works of Cicero are abbreviated, except where the full title is demanded for reasons of clarity, such as *Academici Libri* in the earlier part of the book against *Ac1*, which is used only for the *Academicus Primus*; frequently cited publications are also abbreviated. The text of the *Academicus Primus* is cited

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[4] These figures are slightly misleading: one of the manuscripts which Plasberg listed (Dresd.1) has since been destroyed, and one manuscript (Bon) contains two copies of *Ac1*. The *editio princeps* (Rom) is not included in any of these figures. Plasberg exaggerated when he claimed, in the preface to the *editio maior, in primo Academico LX fere numero [codices] collatos habeo.*

[5] As it is, this book is already of such a length, in proportion to the work with which it is concerned, as to merit the criticism which was meted out by J. Glucker, 'Catalogue raisonné', *Pegasus* 2 (1964), 26–9, to a book of 357 pages, which treated a work of only 10 pages in length.

with both chapter and paragraph numbers, and page and line numbers (in parenthesis) of the 1922 Teubner edition of Plasberg. Thus *De natura autem (id enim sequebatur) ita dicebant ut eam dividerent*... occurs at 6,24 (10.30–1). Where a modern work is referenced for the only time, details of the referenced publication are given in the text or a footnote; where a work is referenced more than once, an entry will be found in the bibliography.

In dealing with the relationship of manuscripts which contain the *Academicus Primus*, I have translated Plasberg's *stirps* by 'family', a term which can comprehend many or few manuscripts; 'group' is used for a number of related families, and 'sub-group' for a related tradition within a family. 'Branch' is used only in Γ as a high-level division based on geographical factors, and 'tradition' is used loosely. The result of these terminological decisions is an excessive appearance of the word 'family', which I hope the reader will forgive.

PART ONE

FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE RENAISSANCE

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEMS

Ever since they were written in 45 BC, the *Academici Libri* have led a confused existence. In Antiquity they were published in two different editions, which have both partly survived until today: of the first edition in two books, the second book survives in its entirety; of the second edition in four books, part of the first book only still survives. In the Middle Ages, what remains of both editions existed with mistaken identities and in totally unrelated traditions. During the Renaissance many misconceptions were removed, but often only locally. When the means of promulgating enlightenment on a wider scale were made available, with the advent of the printed book, fresh mistakes were made which often had currency for a surprisingly long period.

While the last century has seen a clarification of the facts surrounding the composition, format and title of the work (although editors and other scholars still repeat earlier errors in spite of the widely available evidence),[1] some problems still remain which, through lack of data, may never be solved for certain:

* Why do two editions of the work survive?
* Why is each fragmentary?
* When did they become fragmentary?

It is my purpose in this book to address these questions and to chart the *fortuna* of the *Academici Libri* down to the present day. In addition, it will be necessary to re-examine the title of the work for no other reason than to remind modern scholars of what has already been convincingly established, and yet generally neglected, on the matter.

While this book is concerned with the second edition of Cicero's work, and specifically with the first book of the second edition, it

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[1] Michael Grant, *Greek and Latin Authors*, New York, 1980, 94, for example, states that the *Academics* were 'expanded from two books to four—of which we have Book 1 from the first edition and Book 2 from the second'!

will be necessary to discuss the first edition in some detail, both at the time of its composition by Cicero and in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. It should be understood, however, that the term *Academici Libri* refers only to the second edition, and never to the first edition or to a composite version of what is left of both editions.

Of the questions posed above, the last two require consideration from a stand-point which is reached later in this book; but a partial answer to the first may be provided from details of the composition of the work supplied by Cicero himself.

The Composition[2]

The *Academici Libri* were one of the earliest works which Cicero wrote in the period of his devotion to the writing of philosophical treatises between the death of his daughter Tullia in February 45 BC and his dedication to the struggle against Antony in late 44. Evidence offered by Cicero's letters to Atticus and some of his philosophical treatises suggests that the books from which the *Academici Libri* evolved were written immediately after the lost *Consolatio* and *Hortensius*, and before the completion of the *De Finibus*.[3]

The *Consolatio* was complete and in the hands of Atticus' copyists by 8 March 45 BC (*Att* XII 14,3), and for the next few days Cicero's letters are full of his devotion to writing, presumably, the *Hortensius*, which, surprisingly, is never mentioned by name in his letters.[4] By 19 March he was already engaged on another work, probably the *De Finibus* (*Att* XII 23,2).[5] It is likely that Cicero was working on

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[2] The composition has received extensive treatment during the last two centuries: Ranitz, 1–35; Krische, 126–42; Engstrand, 2–8; Reid, 28–37; Plasberg, *Minor* iii–ix; M. Ruch, *Le préambule dans les oeuvres philosophiques de Cicéron*, Paris, 1958, 149–168; Ruch, 5–9.

[3] The *Hortensius* is named in *Tusc* II 2,5 and *Fin* I 1,2; the *Academici Libri* are named in *Tusc* II 2,5, *Nat* I 5,11, *Off* II 2,8 and *Tim* 1,1. Both are listed in *Div* II 1,1 before the other philosophical works. Interestingly, Lörcher, 82, observed that the order of composition and publication may not have been always the same.

[4] References to works in the letters to Atticus are: *Academici Libri* 18 times; *Fin* 8; *De Republica* 5; *De Gloria* 4; *Sen* and *Off* 3 each; *De Orat*, *Am*, *Tusc*, Ἡρακλείδειον 2 each; *Dom*, *Prov*, *Orat*, *Phil*, *Nat* 1 each.

[5] The information requested in this letter has usually been considered to relate to *Luc* 45,137; but Glucker, *Antiochus* 410 n. 40, believes that *Fin* II 18,59 is more relevant. The information which Cicero requests of Atticus is found in neither work, but one of his questions, about the Epicurean scholarch in 155 BC, at least finds

more than one treatise at a time during this whole period, writing one while researching another; in the case of the *Academici Libri*, however, perhaps Cicero did not need to do much in the way of research, as he calls these books 'copies' (ἀπόγραφα), for which he supplies only the words, of which he has plenty (*Att* XII 52,3).

The first significant date in the composition of the *Academici Libri* is 13 May, when Cicero suddenly announces that the *Catulus* and *Lucullus*, as the two books which constituted the first version of the work were called, were complete (*Att* XII 45,1).[6] They were sent to Rome for Atticus some time before 29 May. But Cicero had doubts about the suitability of Catulus and Lucullus as interlocutors, and added prefaces (*prooemia*) to both books in praise of their involvement in philosophy (*Att* XIII 32,3).[7] On 22 June, he transferred the main roles to Cato and Brutus (*Att* XIII 16,1).[8] But the *De Finibus* had already been promised to Brutus and, next day, Cicero introduced Varro (*Att* XIII 12,3) in return for Varro's promise of a dedication to Cicero two years previously.[9] It has generally been thought that Atticus seized this opportunity to ask Cicero to introduce Varro; certainly Cicero himself reported that he had been influenced by

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a sympathetic environment in *Fin.* Three days previously Cicero had mentioned Epicurus in what has been taken as the earliest reference to *Fin* (*Att* XII 12,2).

[6] *Ego hic duo magna* συντάγματα *absolvi.* These συντάγματα have been variously identified: by Ranitz, 6n, Krische, 127 n. 1, and Engstrand, 3, as *Hortensius*, *Catulus*, and *Luc*; by Goerenz, x, and Madvig, lix n. 1, as *Fin*, *Catulus*, and *Luc*; by Reid, 31, and everyone subsequently as *Catulus* and *Luc* only. *Fin* must be ruled out as it was not complete until shortly before 29 June (*Att* XIII 19,4). The *Hortensius*, which is generally thought to have been written in March/April 45, is never mentioned in Cicero's letters, and there is no reason to find the only instance here. Whereas σύνταγμα is commonly thought to refer to a work in one book only, or a single book of a volume (σύνταξις), T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, Berlin, 1882 (reprinted Aalen, 1959), 35–6, argued that σύνταγμα and σύνταξις may be used interchangeably. At this time, the *Catulus* and *Luc* were related, but separate, works and could be called συντάγματα with justification, as single-work books. That Cicero meant only the *Catulus* and *Luc* is surely indicated by his statement on 29 May: *Torquatus* [i.e. *Fin* book I (or books I–II)] *Romae est. Misi ut tibi daretur. Catulum et Lucullum, ut opinor, antea* (*Att* XIII 32,3). This is the only reference to the *Catulus* and *Luc* by name in Cicero's works.

[7] The *prooemium* of *Luc* is thought to consist of paragraphs 1–12 by Reid, but only 1–9 by Rackham.

[8] Reid, 46, suggests that Brutus took the part of Lucullus, Cato that of Hortensius, and Cicero that of Catulus. Brutus had already dedicated the *De Virtute* to Cicero (*Fin* I 3,8; *Tusc* V 1,1).

[9] Varro dedicated part of the *De Lingua Latina* to Cicero. Atticus had originally asked Cicero to dedicate a work to Varro in 54 (*Att* IV 16,2), but Cicero had found nothing suitable.

Atticus' request (*Att* XIII 13,1). But already, as early as 21 May, Cicero had used the expression *De lingua latina securi es animi* (*Att* XII 52,3), which may refer to Varro's work *De lingua latina.*[10]

At the same time Cicero changed the format of the work from two books to four, with many additions and some deletions.[11] But, even so, he was not satisfied with the new version and asked Atticus' advice about the suitability of a dedication to Varro (*Att* XIII 14,1). Cicero's doubts were expressed again on 26 June (*Att* XIII 16,1–2), 28 June (*Att* XIII 18), and 12 July (*Att* XIII 25,3). Atticus appears to have been in favour of the dedication, but fearful that Cicero might seem to be ingratiating himself with Varro; he suggested that perhaps Cotta could take the part of Philo against Varro, with Cicero as a κωφὸν πρόσωπον (*Att* XIII 19,3). But, on 30 June or 1 July, Cicero announced that he had already sent the work to Rome for copying, as he was in a hurry to present a copy to Varro (*Att* XIII 21a,1).

From Cicero's letters it is not clear what constituted the publication of the *Academici Libri.* He hinted that the first edition should not be published, asking Atticus to take a philosophical view of the waste of his copyists' effort over the work (*Att* XIII 13,1), and thereafter referred only to the second edition in four books. At the same time he mentions pirate versions of the *De Finibus*: Cicero rebukes Atticus for allowing Cornelius Balbus to make a copy of book five (*Att* XIII 21a,1), and Caerellia also has a copy of the *De Finibus*, which she must have got from Atticus' copyists (*Att* XIII 21a,2 and XIII 22,3). By 10 July, Cicero was correcting his copyists' errors in the *Academici Libri*, while the copyists were at work on the *De Finibus* (*Att* XIII 23,2).

Cicero wrote a letter of dedication to Varro (*Fam* IX 8) on 11 or 12 July,[12] before the actual work was presented to Varro, for on 13 July he echoes Atticus' intention to make the presentation as soon as Varro arrives at Rome (*Att* XIII 35,2). By 28 July, Varro had received the book, but had not yet read it (*Att* XIII 44,2). At some time in August Cicero must have asked Varro, through Atticus, to

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[10] Suggested by Shackleton Bailey, 341–2, and Glucker, *Antiochus* 409.

[11] The *Academici Libri* were not unique in having their structure changed by Cicero, for there is evidence that *Nat* also underwent a major recension; whereas the dialogue now takes place during one whole day, it seems that it originally consisted of three separate conversations, which took place on successive days—see Rackham, xiii.

[12] He refers to it in *Att* XIII 25,3, written on 12 July.

make a change to the text of, probably, the *Academicus Quartus*; for, on about 27 August, Cicero wrote to Atticus asking him to advise Varro to restore the original reading (*Att* XIII 21,3).[13] Apart from a brief reference made in the following year, this is the last mention of the *Academici Libri* in Cicero's letters.

The most likely reason for the existence of two editions of the *Academici Libri* is suggested by the experience of the *De Finibus*: Cornelius Balbus had an uncorrected copy of book five from Atticus and Caerellia had a copy of the whole work, probably from Atticus or his scribes, as we have seen. Both had obtained their copies against Cicero's wishes, and Atticus' scribes had already made a copy of the *Catulus* and *Lucullus* (*Att* XIII 13,1). Either the *Lucullus* owes its existence to an informal tradition which started with someone's private copy, or Atticus published it, possibly after Cicero's death, alongside the approved version of the *Academici Libri*, to defray his expenses in having it copied in the first place. It is a striking coincidence that Cicero talks of unauthorised copies of the *De Finibus* in the period between the completion of the first and second editions of the *Academici Libri*.

The Title

It is certain that the books of the first edition were called the *Catulus* and *Lucullus*, for so Cicero refers to them on the only occasion on which he mentions them by name (*Att* XIII 32,3).[14] But the books of the second edition are referred to in several forms. Within the letters to Atticus, Cicero refers to the books in five different ways; but this variety is attributable to the nature of the medium and the recipient of the letters. At the time Cicero was writing to Atticus more or less daily, and would naturally vary his description of the work, depending on the tone of each letter.

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[13] As a translation of the technical term ἐποχή ('suspension of judgment'), Cicero had used the verb *sustinere*, but Atticus persuaded him to change this to *inhibere*. Then Cicero learned that *sustinere* was the correct form, and restored it. Cicero used *inhibere* in the *De Orat* I 33,153, but *sustinere* in the later *Am* 17,63. Reid, 36–7, used the present letter as evidence that Varro had a copy of both versions of the *Academici Libri*; at that time *Att* XIII 21 was thought to have been written on 25 July, but Shackleton Bailey has re-dated it to the end of August, when the second edition had already been given to Varro.

[14] Apart from Cicero, only Quintilian ever mentions the *Catulus* by name.

The first reference is to the Ἀκαδημικὴ σύνταξις on 23 June (*Att* XIII 12,3); this expression is conditioned by περὶ τελῶν σύνταξις of the previous sentence in a letter which is full of Greek phrases and was surely never intended to be the title of the work. On the next day he talks of the *Academia* being taken away from Catulus, Lucullus and Hortensius and being given to Varro (*Att* XIII 13,1). Later in the same letter occurs the oblique *de Academicis*, which suggests that Cicero was gravitating towards a title with 'Academic' in it. On 26 June Cicero again uses the form Ἀκαδημικὴ σύνταξις (*Att* XIII 16,1); can this reversion to the form of three days previously be due to an intervening letter from Atticus, which responds to the letter of 23 June in the same terms? It is interesting to note that every reference to a σύνταξις at this time is preceded by *illa*. A further three days later, on 29 June, come references to *Academica omnis quaestio* and *haec Academica* in the same letter (*Att* XIII 19,3 and 5); that the first reference is purely descriptive is surely indicated by the presence of *omnis* between *Academica* and *quaestio*—yet, as we shall see, the work went under some such title for a period of over 300 years! The form *Academica* is demanded in parallel with *Epicurea, Stoica* and περιπατητικά in the previous sentence, and should not be used as evidence for the form of the title. The last reference to the work by name in his letters does not occur until over a year later, when Cicero uses the form *in Academico tertio*, following on a mention of the *De Gloria liber* (*Att* XVI 6,4); in the same letter he uses the term *Academici*, where *libri* is the only noun which could reasonably be supplied.

The overall impression to be gained from the letters is that the title was not fixed at this time. But from all subsequent references, in *Att* XVI 6 and the later philosophical works, there seems little doubt that the title was *Academici Libri*:

Nos autem universae philosophiae vituperatoribus respondimus in Hortensio, pro Academia autem quae dicenda essent satis accurate in Academicis quattuor libris explicata arbitramur.

Tusc II 2,4

Qui autem admirantur nos hanc potissimum disciplinam secutos, his quattuor Academicis libris satis responsum videtur.

Nat I 5,11

Nam et cohortati sumus, ut maxime potuimus, ad philosophiae studium eo libro qui est inscriptus Hortensius, et quod genus philosophandi minime adro-

gans maximeque et constans et elegans arbitraremur quattuor Academicis libris ostendimus.

Div II 1,1

The only references which do not supply this full title are:

Sed haec explanata sunt in Academicis nostris satis, ut arbitror, diligenter.

Off II 2,8

Multa sunt a nobis et in Academicis conscripta contra physicos.

Tim 1,1

But in both cases there is an equal possibility that *libris* should be supplied as that he was using an oblique case of *Academica*; if the former was intended, then in all his references after the composition Cicero calls the work *Academici Libri.*

Most authors in Late Antiquity who cite the work knew it as the *Academici Libri.* Lactantius refers to a single book as *in Academico tertio* on the only occasion when he cites the work by name.[15] Nonius always cites the work in the form *Academicorum lib., in Academicis lib.*, or *Academicis lib.*, followed by the appropriate book number. Augustine clearly refers to the *Academici Libri* in the forms *legite Academicos* (*c. Acad.* III 20,45), *in libris suis Academicis* (*Retract.* I 1,13), and *in libris Academicis, in eis libris, id est Academicis*, and *in primo libro* [sc. *Academicorum*] (*Civ. Dei* VI 2). Martianus Capella uses the indistinct *in Academicis* (*Nupt. Phil. et Merc.* 5,517). The only authority to offer anything different is the grammarian Diomedes, whose manuscripts read *Academiarum tertio.*[16]

Editors of the work called it the *Academicae quaestiones* from the end of the 15th century until the early 19th century.[17] The form *Academica* seems to have originated with John Davies in 1725, although it did not become regular until the second half of the 19th century; since then it has become the usual title. Reid, for example, sweepingly declares 'that he [Cicero] wished the work to bear the title *Academica* is clear', basing his conclusion on evidence which we have already

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[15] *Div. Inst.* VI 24, 1–2.

[16] *Ars gramm.* I 11, Keil p. 377.

[17] Although Turnebus used the title *Academicae quaestiones* on the title page of his edition of 1553, in his commentary (p. 2) he stated: *LIBROS Academicos (sic enim appellat Cic.) existimo vocatos esse. . . .*

seen to be ambiguous.[18] The descriptive *Academica Posteriora* is an expansion of the previous form, and seems to have been coined by Gottfried Schütz in his edition of 1816.[19]

Yet it appears clear to me that Plasberg was correct in believing that the work was called the *Academici Libri*, with individual books being called *Academicus Primus* etc. Plasberg alone shows evidence of having considered the full breadth of available data for such a conclusion. But, although the evidence appears to support Plasberg, the title *Academicus Primus* (for what remains of the whole work) has never really been accepted by editors. Only del Re and Gigon have followed Plasberg, although Philippson is unequivocal in his support.[20] Such a title may find a parallel in the *De Inventione*, which may have been called the *Rhetorici Libri* in Antiquity.[21]

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[18] Reid, 37, preferred the evidence of *Off* II 2,8, *Tim* 1,1, and *Att* XIII 13,1 and 19,5, and pointed out that all other references which involved the word *libri* also contained the assertion that there were four such books, as if to show which was the authorised edition.

[19] It is amusing to record the asseveration of Jo. Franc. Conrad de Allio, on p. 5 of his 1743 edition of *Ac1* and *Luc*, that the four books of the second edition were called *Varro*, *Hortensius*, *Catulus* and *Lucullus*!

[20] R. Philippson, 'M. Tullius Cicero: die philosophischen Schriften', in *RE* 2e Reihe Hbb. 13 (1939), 1132. Shackleton Bailey, Rackham, H.A.K. Hunt, *The Humanism of Cicero*, Melbourne, 1954, and Ruch, at least, all retain the form *Academica*, and in *Cicero in seinen Werken und Briefen*, Leipzig, 1926, 167, seen through publication by W. Ax after the author's death, Plasberg (or his editor) appears to make a concession to popular usage by reverting to *Academica*.

[21] The evidence for suspecting that *Inv* was known as *Rhetorici Libri* in Antiquity is presented by G. Haellingk in *Commentationes in Honorem Guilelmi Studemund*, Strasbourg, 1889, 337–354.

CHAPTER TWO

WHO READ THE *ACADEMICI LIBRI*?

As the history of the composition of the *Academici Libri* is complex and has led scholars to make many mistakes in its elucidation, so the later diffusion of the work has not been fully documented or clearly explained. The best treatment of knowledge of the *Academici Libri* in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance is that of Schmitt;[1] but his interest lies with the Academic doctrines expounded in the *Academicus Primus* and *Lucullus*, and their influence on the history of ideas. Because he equates the *Lucullus* with the last two books of the *Academici Libri*, his references to the *Academica* do not always clearly distinguish between the two editions of the work.

It is my purpose in this chapter to consider such evidence as has come to light on knowledge of the *Academici Libri* from Antiquity down to the Renaissance in the hope that a clearer picture will emerge of which edition was in circulation, how complete it was, and where it was to be found.[2]

The method which I have followed in establishing the history of the *Academici Libri* lies in an acceptance of only those *testimonia* which appear to have come from a first-hand knowledge of the text; such evidence usually consists of quotation from the text, with or without reference to the name of the work and number of the book. Caution is necessary here, however, as the omission of the title of the work prevents us from distinguishing between the two editions of the work, unless the inclusion of an interlocutor's name brings precision; furthermore, quotations from Cicero developed a tradition of their own and their subsequent appearance usually points to a

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[1] Schmitt, 23–58.

[2] In this chapter I cannot claim to set down a definitive list of references to the *Academici Libri.* I have relied on a variety of sources, gathered over a long period of time, but have never gone below the level of an *index locorum* in printed editions. Until recently it has been the practice not to include such an index in editions, and I have not had the time or inclination to plough my way through the Latin patrology in pursuit of references. This has resulted in an apparent silence on the work during a period of seven centuries; only when more useful editions of mediaeval texts have appeared shall we be able to improve substantially on this picture.

loan from a source other than Cicero. Paraphrases, acknowledged as coming from Cicero or not, cause a further problem; where they simply reflect an idea which is found in the *Academici Libri*, I have tended to reject them, except where the words employed closely follow those of Cicero.

In Antiquity

While ancient authors show some acquaintance with the composition of the *Academici Libri* and with the existence of two editions of the work, citations and quotations from the work can only be identified for certain as coming from the second edition. It is certain that there are no citations or quotations from the *Catulus*,[3] and evidence which has been adduced to show knowledge of the *Lucullus* in Antiquity is usually equally applicable to the last two books of the *Academici Libri*.

The *Academici Libri* were not one of Cicero's most influential works, even with his own immediate successors.[4] Among authors of the first and early second centuries AD we find an acquaintance with the composition and history of the work which could have been gained from the letters *Ad Atticum*, or even from a lost work or oral tradition, but nothing closer than that. Pliny the Elder (23/4–79) records:

> *Dignum memoratu, villa est ab Averno lacu Puteolos tendentibus imposita litori, celebrata porticu ac nemore, quam vocabat M. Cicero Academiam ab exemplo Athenarum, ibi compositis voluminibus eiusdem nominis.*
>
> *Nat. Hist.* 1 31,6

While this sentence does not reveal that Pliny knew the work at first hand, it does at least show that he knew of the work under the title of the second edition. Quintilian (30/5–ca. 100), on the other hand, talks of the first edition:

> . . . *et Tullius non dubitavit aliquos iam editos libros aliis postea scriptis ipse damnare, sicut Catulum atque Lucullum et hos ipsos de quibus modo sum locutus, artis rhetoricae.*
>
> *Inst. Orat.* III 6,64

[3] As Reid, 38, stated.
[4] As Schmitt, 23, has stated.

Once again this passage shows only an awareness of the facts surrounding the publication of the work and not necessarily a first-hand acquaintance with it, and is most likely to have been drawn from Cicero's letters; indeed Glucker suggests that the source of Quintilian's statement (a misunderstanding, as it happens) is *Att* XIII 32,3.[5] I feel sure that Ogilvie is wrong in claiming that 'Quintilian knew both versions'.[6]

Plutarch (ca. 50–ca. 120) also refers to the first edition:

> καὶ σύγγραμμά γε πάγκαλον ἐποίησεν [*sc.* Κικέρων] εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν, ἐν ᾧ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς καταλήψεως λόγον Λουκούλλῳ περιτέθεικεν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὸν ἐναντίον. Λούκουλλος δ᾽ἀναγέγραπται τὸ βιβλίον.
>
> *Luc* 42,4

But there is an obvious reason why he should mention the *Lucullus* rather than the *Academici Libri*—Lucullus, the man, is the subject of his work, and any reference which does not bear his name would be pointless. As before, there is no compelling evidence that Plutarch had access to a copy of the *Lucullus*; indeed, in a thorough examination of this very passage, Glucker argues that the source which he used was the life of Cicero, now lost, by Cornelius Nepos.[7]

The earliest evidence of a possible acquaintance with the text of either the *Academici Libri* or the *Lucullus* comes in an unacknowledged paraphrase *cum* quotation of Minucius Felix:

> *Quod oraculum idem ipse* [sc. *Socrates*] *persensit. idcirco universis esse praepositum, non quod omnia comperisset, sed quod nihil se scire didicisset.*
>
> *Oct.* 13,2[8]

Minucius Felix (fl. 200–40), from Cirta in Numidia, never acknowledged his sources, and Waltzing, whose edition abounds in *testimonia*,[9]

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[5] Glucker, *Antiochus* 86 n. 236.

[6] Ogilvie, 60; he would have been justified in saying 'Quintilian knew *of* both editions'.

[7] Glucker, *Antiochus* 380–90.

[8] E. Evans, (ed.) *Q. Septimii Florentis Tertulliani adversus Praxean liber*, London, 1948, 234, likens *Quis enim negabit deum corpus esse* in chapter 7 (p. 96, lines 7–8) to *nullo modo arbitrabatur . . . posse esse non corpus* at *Ac1* 11,39 (16.31–17.3); while the ideas treated by both authors have much in common, their words converge only on *corpus*, and Tertullian, as Schmitt, 23–4, has suggested, is likely to have used an original Greek source.

[9] J.P. Waltzing, (ed.) *M. Minucii Felicis Octavius*, Leipzig, 1912, refers to *Ac1* on

likens the above passage to *Ac1* 4,15–16 (7.1–17), especially *nihil se scire dicat* and *ipse se nihil scire*, and to *Luc* 23,74 (63.11–12) *scire se nihil scire*. On balance, it is more likely that Minucius Felix was influenced by the *Academicus Primus*, where the episode of the reply of the oracle to the question 'Who is the wisest of the Greeks?' is narrated, if he used Cicero at all as his source for this passage.

The earliest certain knowledge of the *Academici Libri*, however, is found in the early 4th-century *De Compendiosa Doctrina* of Nonius Marcellus, who came from North Africa. Nonius quotes thirty passages from the *Academici Libri* to illustrate the use of words in his grammatical treatise; the passages are taken from all four books of the second edition, and the book name and number are always given.[10] Nonius is the principal source for fragments from the lost portions of the *Academici Libri*.

Two further fragments, as well as four unacknowledged quotations and numerous paraphrases, are provided by Lactantius (ca. 250–325).[11] That Lactantius knew the second version of the work is made clear in one of the fragments:

> *quod fieri posse Cicero non putavit, cuius haec in Academico tertio verba sunt: quodsi liceret ut iis qui in itinere deerravissent, sic vitam deviam secutis corrigere errorem paenitendo, facilior esset emendatio temeritatis.*
>
> *Div. Inst.* VI 24,2 (= *Acad* frag. 16 (24.12–14))
>
> *secutos* mss.

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one other occasion (*Oct.* 17,3 = *Ac1* 10,38 (16.5–18)), and to *Luc* on four occasions. In most cases the similarity is restricted to a single word in common.

[10] The distribution of quotations from *Acad* is as follows:

Ac1—4 (Reid) or 3 (Plasberg)
Ac2—9 (Reid) or 10 (Plasberg)
Ac3—6 (Reid) or 5 (Plasberg)
Ac4—11 (Reid) or 12 (Plasberg)

In addition, Plasberg, *Minor* 25 n, suggests that an unattributed quotation in Nonius was taken from one of the *Academici Libri*. Differences between Reid and Plasberg are due to the latter's re-attribution of two quotations from Nonius. The form of the title which precedes each quotation varies as follows: *Academicorum lib. I/II/III/IV*, 26 times; *In Academicis lib. I/II/IV*, 3 times; *Academicis lib. II*, once.

[11] For a list of passages in Lactantius which are thought to have come from Cicero, see S. Brandt and G. Laubmann, (edd.) *L. Caeli Firmiani Lactanti Opera Omnia* (CSEL 19 & 27), Vienna, 1890–3, and F. Fessler, *Die Benutzung der philosophischen Schriften Ciceros durch Lactanz*, Leipzig, 1913. Fessler cites over sixty testimonia, many of which bear slight resemblance to their putative source.

This quotation is similar in sense, but not language, to *Luc* 3,9 (30.23–6).[12] Elsewhere, at *Div. Inst.* III 29,3, Lactantius quotes *Ac1* 7,29 (13.11–13) with the substitution of *inopinata* for *improvisa ac necopinata*, and at VII 4,11 (= *Luc* 38,120 (87.13–16)) he reads *cur tam pestifera* instead of *cur mortifera tam multa perniciosa*, which Ogilvie takes as a further sign that Lactantius used the second edition.[13]

Less certain references to the *Academici Libri* occur in the works of several late 4th-century authors. The grammarian Diomedes (fl. ca. 375) wrote:

> *'figor' ambigue declinatur apud veteres tempore perfecto. reperimus enim 'fictus' et 'fixus' . . . Varro ad Ciceronem tertio fixum, et Cicero Academiarum tertio 'malcho in opera adfixa' . . .*
>
> *Ars Gramm.* I p. 377 (ed. Keil) (= *Acad* frag. 17 (25.11))

tertio[1] om. M, edd. *Academicorum* Keil *academicarum secundo* edd. *malcho: malleo* Reid *opere* Reid

Keil draws attention to the presence of *fixum* at *Luc* 9,27 (40.30), and Reid suggests that the phrase may have formed part of a concrete illustration there;[14] but the latter further suggests that only *fixum* came from the *Academicus Tertius*, and that *malcho . . . adfixa* was drawn from Varro's *De Lingua Latina*; Plasberg seems to accept the first thesis of Reid, but is silent on the second.

The historian Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. 330–90), writing at Rome some time after 378, quotes a passage which is found in the *Lucullus*:

> *cui proxima est Arethusa cursualis est statio, in qua visitur Euripidis sepulchrum tragoediarum sublimitate conspicui, ut Stagira, ubi Aristotelem, ut Tullius ait, fundentem aureum flumen accipimus natum.*
>
> *Res Gestae* XXVII 4,8 (= *Luc* 38,119 (87.1–2))

Although Ogilvie states quite categorically that 'Ammianus, remarkably, appears to know only the earlier [*sc.* edition]',[15] the work is

[12] As Ogilvie, 59–60, pointed out.
[13] Ogilvie, 59.
[14] Reid, 165 n.
[15] Ogilvie, 61.

not referred to by name, and it is quite possible that the passage was retained without change in the *Academicus Quartus*.[16]

A paraphrase which the commentator Servius (fl. ca. 370–90?) attributed to the *Tusculanae Disputationes* is considered by Plasberg to be from the *Academicus Secundus*:

> *Nam et in speculo contraria ostendit universa, et in aqua remum integrum quasi fractum videmus: quod etiam Cicero in Tusculanis plenius docet.*
> *Ecl.* II 27 (= *Ac2* (20.20))

Such a passage has little connection with the *Tusculanae Disputationes*. While there are signs, then, that the *Academici Libri* were not completely unknown in Late Antiquity, their rise to a position of importance was owed to the Church Fathers.

Ambrose (339–97) appears to have been familiar with a large number of Cicero's works, including, possibly, the *Academici Libri*;[17] Jerome (348–420) quotes at least two passages, without acknowledgment, from the work:

> *Olim pueri legimus: Intemperantis esse arbitror scribere quidquam, quod occultari velis.*
> *Apol. adv. Lib. Ruf.* I 1 (= *Ac1* 1,2 (1.19–20))

> *Desine communibus locis; domi nobis ista nascuntur.*
> *Epist.* LXXXIV 4,1 (= *Luc* 25,80 (66.4))

Elsewhere he uses a phrase which was surely taken directly from the *Academicus Primus*:

> . . . *et Amafinios ac Rabirios nostri temporis* . . .
> *Comm. in Osee Proph.* II 180 (= *Ac1* 2,5 (2.29–30))

But it is to Augustine (354–430) that we owe most in Antiquity for creating an interest in the *Academici Libri*. They appear to have been

[16] H. Michael, *De Ammiani Marcellini studiis Ciceronianis*, Breslau, 1874, 31, saw seven other references, mainly from *Luc*.

[17] M. Adriaen, (ed.) *Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam* (CSEL 14), Turnholt, 1957, sees a likeness between *Exp.* Prologus 2, lines 5 sqq., and *Ac1* 5,19 (8.24–9). But G. Madec, *Saint Ambroise et la philosophie*, Paris, 1974, 197 n. 102, thinks that the phrase used was too common to have necessarily been taken from *Ac1*.

nearly as important as the *Hortensius* in Augustine's religious development, as the number and nature of quotations and paraphrases from the *Academici Libri* in his works display.[18] While the majority of borrowings from Cicero are unacknowledged paraphrases, there is one long quotation from book one:

> *In primo autem libro* [sc. *Academicorum*] *cum eiusdem Varronis litteraria opera praedicaret: 'Nos', inquit, 'in nostra urbe peregrinantes errantesque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere. Tu aetatem patriae, tu descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam, tu publicam disciplinam, tu sedum regionum locorum, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina genera officia causas aperuisti . . .'*
>
> *Civ. Dei* VI 2 (= *Ac1* 3,9 (4.18–26))[19]

Just before this passage Augustine refers to the *Academici Libri* in quoting a fragment which editors place in book three.[20] While some of the unacknowledged paraphrases are similar to passages in the *Lucullus*, Augustine never mentions that work, and we may assume that he used the appropriate book of the *Academici Libri*.[21] Augustine's reference by name to material which subsequent editors have placed in the lost portion of the *Academici Libri* serves as evidence that the whole work was still extant in his time.

It was not long before Augustine's quotations and paraphrases

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[18] Testard, I 209 n. 4, counts 23 citations, and H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, Göteborg, 1967, 499, lists 35 passages of Cicero with 56 testimonies in Augustine. Hagendahl ventures the opinion that Augustine probably borrowed still more. Of the works in which Augustine shows a knowledge of *Acad*, five were written in northern Italy in 386–7 (*Contra Academicos, De Beata Vita, De Ordine, Soliloquia, De Immortalitate Animae*), one at Rome in 388 (*De Quantitate Animae*), and the rest in north Africa, mainly at Hippo and Carthage, from 388 (*De Diversis Quaestionibus, De Magistro, De Utilitate Credendi, De Trinitate, De Consensu Evangelistarum, Contra Cresconium, De Civitate Dei, Contra Mendacium, Contra Iulianum, Retractationes*). It should be noted, however, that Augustine tells us that the philosophical works did not exist at Hippo (*Epist.* 118,9).

[19] The quotation also appears in Claudianus Mamertus, John of Salisbury, and Guglielmo da Pastrengo.

[20] *Civ. Dei* VI 2 (= *Ac3* frag. 37 (25.8–10)).

[21] Only Schmitt, 30 n. 29, is of the opinion that Augustine used both editions of *Acad*, partly out of a misunderstanding of Testard, and partly as a result of his general habit of calling the suppletive parts the *Academica*. Testard, I 209–10, quite correctly, observes: 'En ce qui concerne les passages perdus, nous serions portés à une extrême réserve pour les restituer à la première ou à la seconde édition des Académiques, comme aussi pour déterminer ce qui est proprement citation'.

from the *Academici Libri* started a tradition which was separate from the work of Cicero;[22] some of them are found in the anonymous *Contra Philosophos*, for example, which is believed to be a fourth- or fifth-century compilation from the *corpus Augustinianum*.[23] Another example is found in the *De Statu Animae* II 8 of Claudianus Mamertus (ca. 425–ca. 474).[24]

It seems likely that Caelius Aurelianus (d. 420), from Sicca in Numidia, knew the original Cicero:

> *Nam omnis phantasia, cuius diversitates Latini visa vocaverunt, ut Tullius, sive illa naturalia sive contra naturam fuerint, animi non corporis esse noscuntur.*
> *Acutae Passiones* III 13 (= *Ac1* 11,40 (17.7–8))

and Martianus Capella (fl. ca. 425), from Carthage, certainly used the second edition. He paraphrases from the *Academicus Primus*:

> ... *ut qui 'poeotetas' qualitates esse dixerunt* ...
> *De Nupt. Phil. et Merc.* 5.510 (= *Ac1* 7,25 (11.17–18))[25]

and quotes from the *Academicus Quartus*:

> ... *et in Academicis latent ista omnia, Varro, magnis obscurata et circumfusa tenebris* ...
> *De Nupt. Phil. et Merc.* 5.517 (= *Luc* 39,132 (88.14–15))

magis mss.

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[22] Douglas, 159, agrees: 'Cicero is the least quotable of all great writers. When he is quoted, the quotations are nearly always at second hand, from anthologies, grammars, or earlier writers such as Jerome and Augustine'.

[23] Passages which occur in Anon. *C. Philos.*, Augustine and Cicero are:

C. Philos.			*Civ. Dei*			*Ac1*	
III	142–3	=	VI	2	=	3,9	(4.18–26)
V	72–5		VIII	3		4,15	(7.1–5)
V	205–9		VIII	4		5,19	(8.24–9)

References are to D. Aschoff, (ed.) *Anonymus contra philosophos* (*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 58a), Turnholt, 1975.

[24] *Marcus Varro, sui saeculi peritissimus et teste Tullio omnium sine dubitatione doctissimus* ... Mamertus probably took this passage from Augustine, *Civ. Dei* VI 2.

[25] Referenced by W.H. Stahl, R. Johnson and E.L. Burge, *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*, New York, 1977, II 189 n. 132.

The second passage is interesting as it clearly comes from the second edition (*Varro* in place of *Luculle*) and yet, unlike other passages, it presents almost the same text as the *Lucullus*. With the possible exception of a reference by Boethius,[26] Martianus Capella is the last witness to the *Academici Libri* in Antiquity.

The evidence which I have presented points to two conclusions: firstly, that the text of the *Catulus* was not known in Antiquity, except to Cicero himself; secondly, that only the second edition, the *Academici Libri*, was known for certain. That only the *Academici Libri* were known, although the *Lucullus* obviously was available somewhere (it is still extant), suggests either that the second edition was viewed as the genuine article, or that the *Lucullus* survived under a different identity, just as it was later mistakenly called the *Hortensius*.

As far as the location of copies of the *Academici Libri* in Antiquity is concerned, the connection of authors who appear to have known the work with north Africa is initially striking: Minucius Felix, Lactantius, Nonius, Augustine, Caelius Aurelianus, and Martianus Capella all fall into this category.[27] But there is nothing exceptional in this observation, as this region was one of the stabler environments in the Roman world at the time. Of those who are known to have been active elsewhere, Lactantius wrote in Nicomedia and Gaul, Ammianus Marcellinus at Rome, and Ambrose and Augustine in northern Italy.

It has been necessary to consider the *Lucullus* in this part of the book as it helps us to recreate the last two books of the *Academici Libri*. After Antiquity, however, there is no longer any such necessity, as all except part of the *Academicus Primus* was lost. Consequently the rest of this book is concerned solely with the *Academicus Primus*.

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[26] S. Brandt, (ed.) *Anicii Manlii Severini Boethii in Isagogen Porphyrii Commenta* (CSEL 48), Vienna and Leipzig, 1906, likens the following passage to *Ac1* 3,12 (5.29–6.1):

> . . . *si philosophiae libris Latina oratione compositis per integerrimae translationis sinceritatem nihil in Graecorum litteris amplius desideretur.*
>
> *In Isag. Porph. comm.* I 1

[27] Little is known about Diomedes and his whereabouts; G. Goetz in *RE* 5 (1905), 827–9 suggests that he drew his examples from other grammarians, including contemporary sources such as Charisius, another African. In what remains of Charisius' *Ars Grammatica*, however, there is no reference to the *Academici Libri*.

In the Middle Ages

It is a remarkable fact that there seems to be no certain reference to any part of the *Academici Libri* between the 5th and 12th centuries;[28] by the latter date it is certain that only the *Academicus Primus* remained, and less than intact at that.[29] The first reference in this period to the *Academici Libri* is by William of Malmesbury (ca. 1090–ca. 1143), but it is the negative one that neither of the first two books is to be found in England; he equates books three and four with the *Lucullus*, which he owned.[30] William reached this conclusion by analysing *Div* II 1,1, without the assistance of the letters *Ad Atticum*, and thus pre-empted the observation of Petrarch, made two centuries later after a period of considerable confusion about the identity of the *Academicus Primus*, as manifested by the manuscript tradition.

All the earliest evidence in the Middle Ages for the *Academicus Primus* comes from France; the oldest known manuscripts of the work come from northern France, as we shall see, and approximately contemporary paraphrases of passages from the *Academicus Primus* come from the same area. But they do not all necessarily denote a first-hand knowledge of the work.

Julien de Vézelay (ca. 1080/90–ca. 1160/5), a monk at Fleury and Germigny before going to Vézelay, wrote:

> *Pari modo Socrates, quem sapientissimum omnium contemporaneorum Apollo testatus est, in morte de morte disputat...*
>
> *Sermo* XVI (= *Ac1* 4,16 (7.15–16))

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[28] Schmitt, 39, comes to the same conclusion.

[29] P. Schwenk, 'Des Presbyter Hadoardus Cicero-Excerpte', *Philologus* V (1889) 409 n., considered the use by Paschasius Radbertus (790–865) of an expression *Academicus rhetor* as evidence that he knew either *Luc* or *Acad*; Schwenk was followed by M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1923, II 164. But the expression is both solitary and vague and could well come from a source such as Augustine.

[30] *Hic liber primus Achademicorum in Anglia non invenitur, sed nec secundus in quo Catulus pro Achademicis disputans introducitur, sicut ex multis que in hiis libris proxime scriptis animadverti potest. Tertius vero et quartus liber Achademicorum hi duo sunt qui proprie Lucullus appellantur, quia in uno introducitur Lucullus contra Achademicos disputans, in altero Tullius ei pro Achademicis respondet.*

William's comments, which gloss Augustine, *Civ. Dei* VI 2, are found in notes in Cambridge, Univ. Libr., Dd 13.2, which was copied in 1444; the notes form part of a tradition which goes back to William himself. For bibliography, see Rouse & Rouse, 351 n. 53.

But this story was widely known, as we have seen, and does not necessitate a knowledge of the *Academicus Primus*.[31]

John of Salisbury (ca. 1115–80), Bishop of Chartres, has been thought to have used the *Academici Libri*; but of five possible references in the *Policraticus* and *Metalogicon*, three are vague and the other two are almost certainly taken from Augustine.[32]

A proverb which appears in the *Academicus Primus*, as well as elsewhere,[33] is found on at least eleven occasions in 11th- and 12th-century France, always in letters.[34] It may be significant that the form of the proverb as it appears at this time does not follow Cicero, but is in the abbreviated version found only in Boethius among writers in Antiquity;[35] such unanimity argues for a common source and there is no compelling reason to accept the *Academicus Primus* as that source. And yet it is precisely this proverb which was used by Vincent de Beauvais (ca. 1190–1264) in the *Speculum Historiale*, where the source is acknowledged. In the *Speculum*, Vincent attempted to produce an encyclopaedia of human knowledge which would be

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[31] D. Vorreux, (ed.) *Julien de Vézelay: Sermons* (Sources Chrétiennes 192), Paris, 1972, I 338 line 176, records that Cicero reports the story at *Am* 2,7 and *Sen* 21,78 as well as in *Ac1*.

[32] C. Schaarschmidt, *Johannes Saresberiensis, nach Leben und Studien, Schriften und Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1862, 92, accepted that John knew the '*disputationes academicae*'; but C.C.J. Webb, (ed.) *Ioannis Saresberiensis . . . Policratici libri viii*, Oxford, 1909, I xxix, rightly doubted it, and Douglas, 161, included the *Acad* among Cicero's philosophical works which were not known to John. The passages which John took from Augustine are from *Civ. Dei* VI 2 (*Policrat.* VII 9 (657b–c) = *Ac1* 3,9 (4.19–26) and fragment 37 (25.8–10)); evidence that these passages were taken from Augustine, and not from Cicero, is supplied by their juxtaposition, and by their agreements in readings with Augustine and against Cicero:

deduxerunt Cic. *reduxerunt* Aug., John
bellicam Cic. *publicam* Aug., John
sedem Cic. *sed(i)um* Aug., John

[33] The proverb appears in *Ac1* 5,18 (8.17–18) as: *Nam etsi non sus Minervam, ut aiunt, tamen inepte quisquis Minervam docet.* Other examples appear in Cicero *Fam*, *De Orat*, Festus, Censorinus, Symmachus, Jerome, and Boethius, as well as in Theocritus and Plutarch with Athena in place of Minerva. Full texts were presented by A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörterlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, 224.

[34] Ten are listed by M.C. Sutphen, 'A further collection of Latin proverbs', *American Journal of Philology* 22 (1901), 248 (reprinted as *A Collection of Latin Proverbs*, Baltimore, 1902, and included in R. Haussler, *Nachträge zu A. Otto Sprichwörter und sprichwörterlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Hildesheim, 1968, 187) from Fulbert of Chartres, Ivo of Chartres, Peter the Venerable, Arnulf of Lisieux, Nicolaus of Clairvaux, and unknown ('R') to Thomas a'Beckett. An eleventh is presented by Dom J. Leclerq, *Receuil d'Etudes sur Saint Bernard et ses écrits* (Storia e Letteratura 104), Rome, 1966, II 367 line 1, from one Evrard to Pope Urban III. See also p. 40 n. 74.

[35] I.e. there is no mention of *sus*.

suitable as a schoolbook for royal and noble children; he filled the encyclopaedia with excerpts, sometimes puzzlingly brief and bereft of context, from ancient authors. From the *Academicus Primus* Vincent took just one passage:

> *Idem in libro de Academicis: Inepte quis Minervam docet.*
> *Spec. Hist.* VI 29 (= *Ac1* 5,18 (8.18))

That Vincent and so many others should use this obscure phrase is remarkable; it suggests that all had access to a common stock of proverbs or excerpts such as the *Florilegium Gallicum*. But the *Academicus Primus* does not appear to have contributed to that collection.[36] Vincent also included a passage from the *Lucullus* (*De Eruditione Filiorum Nobiliorum* IV, '*De Impedimentis Addiscendi*' = *Luc* 3,7 (29.25–8)), which he knew as the *Hortensius*, as well as five excerpts from the *De Finibus*[37] immediately before the passage from the *Academicus Primus*. This juxtaposition of *Academicus Primus* and *De Finibus*, which will be seen to be significant in the manuscript tradition, may have led to the interesting error found in the *Moralis philosophia* of Roger Bacon (ca. 1214–92).

On three occasions Bacon cites a specific book of the *Academici Libri* in the form: ... *ut Tullius scribit de Aristotile in quinto Achademicorum libro*... (*Mor. Phil.* I 6,11); *Quoniam ipse Tullius, quinto Achademicorum libro, dicit* (*Mor. Phil.* III prooem. 2); ... *Tullius in secundo Achademicorum dicit*... (*Mor. Phil.* III 3,4). All the references, however, are to the *De Finibus*,[38] and Bacon's error enables us to guess the provenance of the book which he consulted.[39]

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[36] It does not feature in either A. Gagner, *Florilegium Gallicum*, Lund, 1936, or J. Hamacher, *Florilegium Gallicum Prolegomena und Edition der Exzerpte von Petron bis Cicero De oratore*, Berne, 1975. The *Speculum Historiale* served to disseminate this excerpt: a number of later florilegists, who compiled their own collections out of the *Speculum*, borrowed this passage. For it is found, to my knowledge, in the Verona florilegium of 1329, Verona, Bibl. Capitolare, ms. 168 (155) (*Inepte quid Minervam docet*); in a 14th-century florilegium, Bern, Burgerbibl., ms. 161, fol. 77v and in a 15th-century florilegium from the convent of the Céléstins of Gentilly, Avignon, Bibl. Municipale, ms. 357, fol. 100v (*Inepte quis epte docet*).

[37] *Fin* I 10,32; I 10,36; III 6,22; IV 12,32; V 14,38. Identified by Rouse & Rouse, 352 n. 57.

[38] *Fin* V 25,73; V 23,65–6; III (!) 11,38. Identified loosely by Sandys, I 596 n. 5, and precisely by E. Massa, (ed.) *Rogeri Baconis Moralis Philosophia*, Zürich, 1953.

[39] The Paris region; see pp. 109–10. On the subject of erroneous attribution of mediaeval quotations to *Ac1*, it should be noted that H. Knust, (ed.) *Gualteri Burlaei liber de vita et moribus philosophorum* (Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart

Indirect references to Cicero through the works of Augustine continue into the 13th century. Jean of Lugio (fl. 2nd half of 13th cent.), a cathar heretic writing in northern Italy, refers to the composition of the four prime elements, but his text is as likely to be based on *De Civitate Dei* VIII 5 as on *Academicus Primus* 7,26 (12.1–4):

> ... *scilicet quod diabolus domini dei veri corrupisset quattuor ellementa, videlicet celum et terram, aquam et ignem* ...
>
> *Liber de Duobus Principiis* ch. 60[40]

A most interesting reference to the *Academicus Quartus* takes us back to England again. In his *Moralitates* Robert Holcot (d. 1349), a Dominican friar and scholastic theologian who taught at Oxford, says:

> *Tullius in Academicis questionibus, questione quarta, commendat Varronem eo quod ipse tradidit iura deorum, ubi in expositione inveni quod Varro depinxit peccatum morale ad similitudinem dee, cuius ponebatur tres imagines. Prima fuit imago Dei; secunda fuit imago diaboli; tertia fuit imago hominis.*
>
> *Moralitates* XXXI[41]

Smalley identifies *AcI* 10,37 (16.1) as a possible locus for the story;[42] but there are problems here. Even if Holcot, or his source, had got his reference wrong (not an uncommon event in the Middle Ages, as we have already seen with Bacon), the only connection between Holcot's text and the suggested *locus* is the word *peccatum*, which occurs elsewhere in the *Lucullus*; as Holcot refers to Varro, and not to Lucullus, and as he talks of the fourth '*quaestio*' (I take *questione quarta* to be equivalent to *libro quarto*, in the same way that *in Academicis questionibus* means *in Academicis libris*), we should perhaps look for a textual parallel in the second half of the *Lucullus* which would coincide with the *Academicus Quartus*. But there is none. Nor is there any confusion with the *De Finibus* here, as with Bacon, for Varro does

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177), Tübingen, 1886, 110, erred in attributing to *AcI* 4,15 a verbatim quotation from *Tusc* 4,10. In his treatment of Cicero (ch. XCV, p. 318) Burley reveals the source and extent of his knowledge of *AcI*, as well as other works of Cicero; for his list, as Knust observed, with the exception of one insertion, follows the contents and sequence of Vincent's catalogue in *Spec. Hist.* VI 6.

[40] See C. Thouzellier, *Le livre des deux principes*, Paris, 1973, 378 lines 14–15 (cf. 364 lines 7–8).

[41] See Smalley, 166.

[42] Smalley, 734.

not feature in that work. If this passage really did come from the *Academicus Quartus*, we would have here a freak survival, for this would be the first and only reference to one of the lost *Academici Libri* since the fifth century. The text itself, as it develops, looks Christian, but knowledge of Varro and the *Academicus Quartus* places Holcot on a par with William of Malmesbury. It is unlikely that the whole passage originated with Holcot: like his contemporaries, Holcot was content to cite his sources mainly at second hand, and we find most of the passage in the *Speculum Exemplorum*;[43] the *Speculum*, which first appears in the printed edition of Richard Paefroed at Deventer in 1481, is thought to have originated in Flanders only around 1480.

In view of the problems caused by the two-fold appearance of this passage, and the improbability that the *Academici Libri* should have survived intact in England[44] or the Low Countries, it seems most likely that the quotation owes its survival to inclusion in a collection of *exempla*, separate from the main tradition of the parent work. Indeed it seems that at least two separate traditions of *exempla* and *florilegia* existed in Europe from the 12th century, to be used by Evrard, Vincent, and the compilers of the *florilegia* at Verona, Bern, and Avignon, on the one hand, and by Holcot and the compiler of the *Speculum Exemplorum* on the other.[45]

In the Renaissance

Evidence of knowledge of the *Academicus Primus* in Italy begins in the early 14th century with Dante. Several paraphrases are rendered

[43] *Spec. Exempl.*, Distinctio nona: sub *Exempla ex diversorum auctorum scriptis collecta.* Welter, 390, drew attention to the *Speculum*, which he knew only in the Strasbourg edition of 1490.

[44] References to the *Acad* are found in two mss. in England: in Lambeth Palace 425 (xiii[1] c.) both *Opt* and *Tim* are entitled *Tullius de Achademicis* (see *Texts*, 101); and in the 14th-century Cambridge, St. John's College, 97 (D.32), fol. 164, an excerpt from the beginning of *Luc* is introduced as *Tullius in libro de achademicis* (see M.R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College*, Cambridge, 1913, 128).

[45] Welter, 440–1, mentions another compiler of encyclopaedic knowledge, Arnold of Geilhoven (d. 1442), who used *Ac1* in his *Gnotosolitus* (a corruption of γνῶθι σεαυτὸν) or *Speculum Conscientiae*, completed in 1424, which dealt with questions on the moral and religious life. Welter states that Arnold drew his examples from earlier compilers such as Vincent, and mentions *Ac1* by way of example. However, I have been unable to find any reference to *Ac1* in the 1476 Brussels edition.

into Italian in the *Convivio*, which was written at Bologna between 1304 and 1307:[46]

> *E* questi furono Academici chiamati (7.31–8.3), *si comè* fue Platone e Speusippo suo nepote (7.26–7), chiamati per luogo cosi dove Plato studiava, cioè Academia (8.1–3); *nè da Socrate* presero vocabulo (8.3), *pero che ne la sua filosofia* nulla fu affermato (8.7). *Veramente* Aristotile, *che* Stagirite (7.29–30) *ebbe sopranome, e* Zenocrate Calcedonio (7.29), *suo compagnone, [e per lo studio loro], e per lo 'ngegno [singulare] e quasi divino che la natura in Aristotile messo avea, questo fine conoscendo per lo modo socratico quasi e academico, limaro e a perfezione la filosofia morale redussero, e massimamente Aristotile. E però che* Aristotile *cominciò* a disputare andando in qua e in lae, chiamati furono—lui, dico, e li suoi compagni—Peripatetici (7.29–31), *che tanto vale* quanto 'deambulatori' (7.31). *E però che la perfezione di questa moralitade per Aristotile terminata fue*, lo nome de li Academici si spense, e tutti quelli che a questa setta si presero Peripatetici sono chiamati (7.30–1).
>
> *Convivio* IV 6,14–16

It is interesting to note that these passages occur in adjacent paragraphs of the *Convivio*, and in the same single paragraph of the *Academicus Primus*. This might suggest the use of an excerpt from Cicero,[47] but indirect evidence to the contrary is supplied from elsewhere.

Among the paragraphs which precede those of the *Convivio* quoted above two show a certain knowledge of the *De Finibus*.[48] The facts that Dante used parts of the *De Finibus* which were widely separated, that borrowings from the *De Finibus* immediately precede borrowings from the *Academicus Primus*, and that manuscripts of the *De Finibus* at

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[46] They were identified by E. Moore, *Studies in Dante: Scripture and Classical Authors*, Oxford, 1969 (first edition 1896), 268, and J.P. Toynbee, *A Dictionary of Proper Names and Notable Matters in the Works of Dante*, Oxford, 1968 (revised by C.S. Singleton), 177–8. In the text, Roman characters indicate passages where Dante paraphrases or translates Cicero; references in parentheses are to Plasberg's smaller edition by page and line number. All passages are taken from 4,17 (7.26–8.3). The full text is published in G. Busnelli and G. Vandelli, (edd.) *Dante Alighieri, Il Convivio*, Florence, 1937, II 66–8.

[47] On this possibility it is worth noting that the letter from Francesco Patrizi to Achille Petrucci (see pp. 35–7) offers several passages and phrases from this same paragraph.

[48] *Convivio* IV 6,6 = *Fin* III 8,27 and III 10,36; *Convivio* IV 6,11–12 = *Fin* I 5,13, I 9,29–30 and I 11,37–8.

that time often contained the *Academicus Primus* after it suggest that Dante knew all that remains of the *Academicus Primus*.[49]

Although Petrarch did not include the *Academicus Primus* among his list of *Libri Mei Peculiares*, probably compiled between 1333 and 1337, he seems to have acquired a copy soon afterwards, and wasted no time in forming an opinion of its worth:

> *Hoc enim et in aliis multis, sed in hiis maxime oratoriis atque achademicorum et legum libris patimur, qui ita truncati foedatique evaserunt, ut prope melius fuerit periisse.*
>
> *Fam* XXIV 4,14[50]

Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) knew both the *Academicus Primus* and *Lucullus*.[51] He seems to have been fully acquainted with the subject-matter of the *Academicus Primus* by 1401,[52] but perhaps the most interesting evidence comes from an earlier letter to Lombardo della Seta, dated Florence, 13 July 1379:

> *Non possum credere quod libros De finibus bonorum et malorum non habeatis. Si apud vos sunt, cum michi sit liber ille imperfectus, utpote qui usque ad quartum librum procedat usque ibi: 'atque plena eorum, qui cum de summo bono quererent', et cetera, nam ulterius non procedit, desidero habere complementum eiusdem quarti et totum quintum. Quatuor Academie libros, si reperiri possent, novit Deus quam ardenter videre cupiam et habere.*
>
> *Epist.* IV 19

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[49] Although Sabbadini, *Scoperte* I 19, states that Guglielmo da Pastrengo (d. 1363) knew 'gli Accademici', the evidence in the *De Originibus Rerum* for such a belief is far from compelling. Of four passages which have been put forward as evidence, only one comes from *Acad*:

> *Varro . . . vir omnino acutissimus et absque dubitatione doctissimus, ut in Achademicis ait Cicero.*
>
> *De Orig. Rer.* fol. 47r (ed. M. Blondi, Venice, 1547)

But this is drawn from the fragment of *Ac3* found in Augustine, *Civ. Dei* VI 2. Of the three other passages, two are from *Luc* and one from *Fin.*

[50] Written at Avignon in December 1344. Other references to *Ac1* are found in *Fam* XXIV 6,5, written at Rome in November 1350, in *Fam* 8,5 to Lapo da Castiglionchio ('Jacopus Florentinus'), dated 1 April 1352 by Nolhac, I 232, and in *De Sui Ipsius et Multorum Ignorantia* II, written on a journey between Venice and Padua in 1367. A fuller description of Petrarch's use of *Ac1* follows in the next part (see pp. 67–71).

[51] According to Billanovich, 39 n. 1, and Ullman, 222.

[52] Thus F. Novati, (ed.) *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, Rome, 1896, III 457, on the evidence of *Epist.* XIII 4 to Francesco Zabarella.

Salutati's words do not indicate clearly whether he had the *Academicus Primus* by this time; they suggest either that he had the first book, but not the rest of the work, or that he did not have the *Academicus Primus* at all. In view of the usual proximity of the *De Finibus* to the *Academicus Primus* in manuscripts at this period, that he should pass directly from the *De Finibus* to the *Academici Libri* might suggest that he owned a manuscript which contained both works, with the *De Finibus* ending at IV 14,36 (136.5). But it is unlikely that such a volume would lack only the end of the *De Finibus* and not the *Academicus Primus* as well. We know of no manuscript of the *De Finibus* which ends at IV 14,36, although if Salutati received a *complementum* of the last part of the work, then we may find a manuscript with a mixed tradition. The only manuscript of the *De Finibus* which is known to have belonged to Salutati is complete,[53] but lacks the *Academicus Primus*; we may safely assume that he owned another copy of the *De Finibus*, for that referred to above was lent by him to Domenico de Peccioli, and we can hardly imagine him being parted from a work of the 'highly prized Cicero, unless he had a parchment book containing this treatise, perhaps copied from this very paper manuscript'[54]—for Salutati is known to have preferred parchment manuscripts for his own collection.

Certain knowledge of the *Academicus Primus* is shown by Guarino of Verona (1374–1460) in 1412, when he quotes a phrase in the *Invective* against Niccoli, *In Auripellam Poetam*:[55]

> . . . *iste Ciceronis Amaffanius 'qui nulla arte adhibita vulgari sermone disputare solebat'.*

Some time before early 1424, Guarino lent a gathering containing the *Academicus Primus* to Pietro Tommasi, a Venetian doctor, and tried to get it back through the mediation of Flavio Biondo (1388–1463), who happened to be in Venice:[56]

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[53] Firenze, Arch. di Stato, Carte Strozz. ser. 3 no. 46. See Rouse & Rouse, 359.

[54] As Ullman, *Humanism* 264, pointed out.

[55] Recorded by Sabbadini, *Scoperte* II 212 n. 6; *Storia* 181; *Epistolario* I 36 lines 102–3. The quotation is from *Ac1* 2,5 (2.30–1). In the *Scoperte* Sabbadini dates the *Invective* to 1412, but in the *Storia e Critica* he dates it 1413. More recently, M.C. Davies, 'An emperor without clothes? Niccolò Niccoli under attack' in A. Moffatt, (ed.) *Maistor: Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, Canberra, 1984, 271–4, discusses the *Invective* and evidence for its composition between 1411 and 1414, possibly in 1412.

[56] Quoted by Sabbadini, *Briefe* 509; *Codici* 392; *Storia* 180; *Epistolario* I 387. In an

. . . si ornatissimus et vir et medicus m<agister> P<etrus> Thomasius Venetiis est, ei me totum commenda et cum longum illi de me feceris sermonem, cum dicturus es 'Vale' quasi experrectus eum commonefacito ut mihi quinternionem quendam mittat Academici fragmenti, quod illi diu misi, volo enim una cum reliquis librum unum facere. Veronae xv kal. februarias <1424>.

At the beginning of the next year Guarino made another attempt to retrieve his gathering, but it appears that Tommasi no longer had it:[57]

Habeo volumen quorundam Ciceronis opusculorum, in quibus Academica sunt. Nescio quo pacto unus evanuit quinternio, dum totiens agitare supellectilem compulsus sum. Roga Hermolaum <Barbarum> si quo pacto suos inter codices illum haberet, quos secum tulit, cum ex Valle Polizella discessit. Solebam enim inter libros forte occurrentes interserere, ne foedaretur. Hoc mihi fuerit gratissimum. Ex Verona xi iunii <1425>.

A wish similar to that of Salutati above was expressed by Ognibene Scola in a letter to Pier Candido Decembrio (1392–1477) in 1426:[58]

Expecto ut gerulo hoc nostro Amadeo videam Ciceronis Achademiam, quam tu ac frater in vigiliam a tanta dormitione ut plurimi exanimatam arbitrarentur . . .

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earlier letter to Guarino, dated by Sabbadini, *Epistolario* I 664 no. 474a, to 1419 at Vicenza, Tommasi wrote: *De fragmento illo Ciceroniano in dies tecum expectabo.* Sabbadini takes this to refer also to *Ac1*; but the reference is obscure. If Sabbadini is right, then Tommasi had probably had *Ac1* for a long time when Guarino tried to get it back, probably from the time when Guarino lived at Venice (i.e. 1414–19). At about this time, reckoned by H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino humanistisch-philosophische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1928, 22, to be about 1421–4, in the *Isagogicon Moralis Disciplinae*, Bruni uses the expression *Tu qui graeco de fonte (ut ait Flaccus) hausisti* . . ., which Baron shows is more likely to come from *Ac1* 2,8 (4.4–5) than from Horace. Elsewhere in the same work (p. 28) Bruni uses the phrase *Quae enim hi bona et mala, illi praeposita et reiecta appellant*, which is close to *Ac1* 10,36–7 (15.22–31).

[57] Quoted by Sabbadini, *Briefe* 510; *Codici* 392–3; *Storia* 180; *Epistolario* I 472–3 no. 316. Sabbadini, *Briefe* 510 n. 4, points out that Ermolao Barbaro was a pupil of Guarino at Verona. But there is a problem here: Ermolao is generally believed to have been born ca. 1410 (see *DBI* 6 (1964), 95–6 [E. Bigi]). He came to Verona to study under Guarino in his sixteenth year and subsequently returned to Venice to study under his uncle Francesco. If the Ermolao of Guarino's letter is Barbaro (Francesco's eldest half-brother was also called Ermolao or Almorò or Moreto, but he does not feature after about 1400 and may be counted out), then either the date of this letter is later than 1425, or Ermolao's birth-date should be placed before 1410.

[58] In Bologna, Bibl. Univ., 2386 fol. 36^{v}, quoted by Sabbadini, *Scoperte* I 105 n. 69. Unfortunately, Sabbadini does not quote the whole sentence.

The expectation that the rest of the *Academici Libri* would be found obviously continued, for in January 1447 Lorenzo Valla (1407–57) writes from Naples to Giovanni Tortelli (ca. 1400–66):[59]

> *Praeterea si quis apud vos habet quatuor Academicorum Ciceronis libros non pridem Senae repertos . . .*

We do not know any more about this reported discovery at Siena, unfortunately, but we surmise that it came from a misunderstanding about the identity of the *Academici Libri*, as usual.

As we might expect, the rediscovery of Plato and rekindling of interest in the Academy at Florence in the mid-15th century gave rise to a surge of interest in the *Academicus Primus*. Two texts have come to light which derive their existence from this active interest, and may even be due to the lectures on Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes* given by Christoforo Landino at Florence in 1458.[60] Of these works only one (Scala) is dated, in 1458; but its contents are so close to the other (Patrizi) that they must have been written at more or less the same time, occasioned by a common event such as a lecture. The more interesting of these texts for our purposes, in that the *fortuna* of the *Academicus Primus* is discussed therein, is the letter from Francesco Patrizi (1413–94)[61] of Siena to Achille Petrucci,[62] also of Siena. In it Patrizi discusses Petrucci's interest in the Academy, and goes on to mention the fragmentary state of the *Academici Libri*:

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[59] In L. Barozzi and R. Sabbadini, *Studi sul Panormita e sul Valla*, Florence, 1891, 116, and in Sabbadini, *Storia* 218–19.

[60] Suggested by A.M. Brown, *Bartolomeo Scala 1430–1497, Chancellor of Florence*, Princeton, 1979, 263–5.

[61] The letter was discovered by Kristeller, *Iter* I 174, and published by Schmitt, 49–51 and 172–7. For Patrizi, see F. Battaglia, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini e Francesco Patrizi, due politici senesi nel '400*, Florence, 1936, 73–157, and Avesani. Kristeller, *Iter* I 100, 141 and 255, and II 102, 250 and 254, lists several letters from Patrizi to Petrucci, and one from Jo. Ant. Campanus, as well as works seemingly by Petrucci: *Oratio de Laudibus Eloquentiae* (*Iter* II 245), *Exhortatio ad Pontificem contra Turchum* (*Iter* II 63), and an epigram on Angelus Geraldinus (*Iter* II 383).

[62] Patrizi addressed a poem, *De Casu Fulminis*, and several letters to Petrucci; see L.F. Smith, 'The poems of Franciscus Patricius from Vatican manuscript Chigi J VI 233', *Manuscripta* 10 (1966), 98–9 and 148. Petrucci served as Podestà for 1461 during Patrizi's governorship of Foligno, between 1461 and 1464, and may be the *iurisconsultus* of a Florence ms.; if so, then he was still alive in 1483. He was knighted in 1480 by the Duke of Calabria at Siena. The Petrucci family was a well-known member of the Monte faction of the Nove, who were forced to leave Siena in 1483, but made their way back in 1487.

Est enim permagna et a Cicerone quondam libris, qui Academici inscribuntur, optime ut opinor illustrata, sed periere ii libris cum aliis plerisque tum eiusdem tum etiam Varronis et plurimorum clarissimorum scriptorum, maximum enim librorum naufragium latinae litterae offecerunt. Verumtamen eorundem nonnulla vestigia etiam extant.

Lines 21–6

Patrizi then touches on another rumour that the work had been found in its entirety:

Audio tamen rumore potius incerto quam certa aliqua fama differri ad Cosmum Medicem divitem illum et fortunatum virum hosce Academicorum libros integros ultima usque ex Gallia nuper esse perlatos, qui et vetustissimi sint ac etiam plurime auctoritatis, sincere atque incorrupte fidei, quod utrum[63] *Dii faciant. Opto enim id potius quam sperem, siquidem huiusmodi rumor saepenumero me falsum tenuit.*

Lines 28–34

Two copies of the *Academicus Primus* with a Medici connection are known, but neither came from France.[64] It is interesting, however, that the rumour should be heard at Siena again.

Patrizi's letter mentions the *Tusculanae Disputationes* and the *De Finibus* by name, and Schmitt states that, in the discussion of the evolution of the ancient Academy, Patrizi drew on several sources, including Diogenes Laertius and various extant works of Cicero. In fact, he closely paraphrases three extended passages of the *Academicus Primus*: 4,15–18 (7.2–8.15), 5,19–20 (9.1–16), and 12,44–6 (19.4–20.3).[65] That Patrizi's use of the *Academicus Primus* should be limited to three passages might suggest that he knew only excerpts of the work, especially as one of these passages includes the only portion which Dante

[63] Surely *utrum* should read *utinam*?

[64] *I.e.* Fes and Laur.3, which both came from Florence. No date is given by Schmitt for Patrizi's letter; the reference to Cosimo's ownership of a text recently brought from France indicates a date before his death in 1464, and the currency of a rumour at Siena about the *Acad* suggests a date no earlier than 1447. But the similarities to Scala's dated essay argue most vociferously for a date around 1458.

[65] Detailed correspondences between Patrizi's work (cited by line no. in Schmitt) and *Ac1* are:

used.[66] But this particular passage is an attractive one for anyone who wants to explain the ancient schools of philosophy, naming, as it does, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, the Peripatetics and the Academics, and this was exactly the purpose of both Dante and Patrizi. Patrizi's style of writing gives the impression of his being surrounded by reference books, of which he used one at a time, settling into passages useful for his purpose before moving on to another source. There seems little doubt that he had the whole of the *Academicus Primus*, as it now is, before him, and the readings of some of his quotations enable us to gain some idea of the identity of the copy which he used.[67]

The largest collection of quotations and paraphrases from the *Academicus Primus* at this time is presented in the *De Nobilioribus Philosophorum Sectis* of Bartolomeo Scala (1430–97), Chancellor of Florence from 1465 until the year of his death.[68] Scala's work, which

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Patrizi	*Ac1*	Patrizi	*Ac1*
48	4,16 (7.15–16)	96–7	4,17 (8.9–10)
49	4,15 (7.2–3)	98	4,17 (7.30–1)
50	4,15 (7.5)	98	4,18 (8.14)
51	4,15 (7.6)	100–1	4,18 (8.15)
52	4,18 (8.15)	118–19	5,19 (9.5–7)
54–5	4,15 (7.7–8)	124–5	4,17 (7.26–7)
55–6	4,15 (7.9)	136–7	12,46 (20.3)
59	4,16 (7.11–12)	138	12,44 (19.4)
61–2	4,16 (7.12–14)	138–9	12,45 (19.13–21)
64–5	4,16 (7.16–17)	139	12,44 (19.8–9)
84–6	4,17 (7.29–31)	140–5	12,45 (19.13–21)
90	4,17 (7.23)	172	5,19 (9.1)
91–2	4,17 (7.26–7)	173	5,19 (9.3–4)
93	4,17 (7.29)	175	5,19 (9.8)
94	4,17 (8.6–7)	177–8	5,20 (9.13–14)

The only quotations from a work other than *Ac1* are at 186–7, where Patrizi refers to Ennius' *Neoptolemus*, as in *Tusc* II 1,1 (see p. 40 n. 74), and 162–5, where Patrizi quotes, more or less verbatim, from *Fin* V 7,18 (163.33–164.4); the omission of *prima* (164.3) makes Patrizi's source close to Leiden, Gronovius 21 (R) (see pp. 107–8). Once again the proximity of *Fin* to *Ac1* is striking.

[66] *Ac1* 4,17 (7.26–8.7). I know of no independent manuscript tradition of such an excerpt.

[67] See pp. 208–9.

[68] The full text of the *Epistola de Nobilioribus Philosophorum Sectis et de eorum inter se Differentia*, to give the work its full title, was published by L. Stein, 'Handschriftenfunde zur Philosophie der Renaissance', *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 1 (1888), 534–53.

is similar in spirit to that of Patrizi, contains references to several authors and their works.[69] The first reference to Cicero consists of a long quotation, interrupted by an observation of Scala:

> Illam *enim* socraticam dubitationem de omnibus rebus et nulla affirmatione adhibita consuetudinem disserendi *ut ait Cicero et si imitari videtur Plato in suis libris ut socratem verius exprimat, quem frequentissime inducit disputantem qui a platone postea manarunt* reliquerunt. Ita facta est disserendi, quod minime Socrates probabat ars quaedam philosophiae et rerum ordo et descriptio disciplinae quae quidem primo erat duobus nominibus una. Nihil enim inter peripateticos et illam veterem academiam differebat. Abundantia quadam ingenii praestabat ut mihi quidem videtur Aristoteles, sed idem fons *rerum* erat utrisque et eadem rerum expetendarum fugiendarumque partitio (8.6–15).
>
> Stein 542.23–34[70]

Stein attributed the work to Johannes Baptista Buonosegnius, the author of a translation of Plutarch in one of the three manuscripts in which the work is preserved (Firenze, Bibl. Med. Laur., Plut. 76,55), after the suggestion of Bandini, *Cat Med* III 123 n. 1; but P.O. Kristeller, 'Giovambattista Buoninsegni', *DBI* 15 (1972), 256, shows that Buoninsegni was only 5 years old in 1458 and could not be its author.

[69] Scala mentions by name Leonardo Bruni's *Isagogicon*, Augustine's *Contra Academicos* and *De Civitate Dei*, Lucretius, Virgil, Diogenes Laertius, Lactantius, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Apuleius, Plotinus and Basil the Great, as well as *Tusc* and *Ac1*; in addition he quotes from *Luc* 6,16 (34.30–1), 6,17 (35.7–8) and 37,118 (85.24–86.17). Scala's work has been likened to the *De Quatuor Sectis Philosophorum* of Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), which is dated by Kristeller, *Supplementum* I cxxxix, on stylistic grounds to 1457. But Ficino's essay, while it deals with matters which are discussed in *Ac1*, does not quote or paraphrase Cicero in the same way as Scala. One paragraph of the work, edited by Kristeller, *Supplementum* II 7–11, and starting *Aristoteles autem Stagirites*. . ., resembles *Ac1* 4,17 (7.29–31), but generally Ficino discusses ideas at a high level and in a well-digested fashion.

[70] Roman characters here identify words taken directly from Cicero; references are to page and (inserted) line numbers in Stein. This first passage gives us the best insight into the quality of text which Scala used. At first sight it seems certain that Scala used a member of Plasberg's Δ tradition, probably one of the *deteriores*; the telling readings are:

Scala	*Ac1*	
542.24	4,17 (8.6)	*dubitationem*
542.28	4,17 (8.8)	*est* <*disserendi*>

But the reading of *mihi quidem* for *quidem mihi* at 542.32 (= *Ac1* 4,18 (8.13)) goes against the general tradition of *Ac1*, and is found only in one lowly member of the *deteriores*, and at the hands of a corrector elsewhere; it is most likely to be a correction of a phrase which is commonly found in Cicero as *ut mihi quidem videtur.*

The next reference consists of quotation, paraphrase, and original words of Scala:

> . . . *Theophrastus qui non solum ut Varro apud Ciceronem ait platonis* labefactavit speties (14.21–2), *quod magister fecerat*, sed et virtutem suo decore spoliavit imbecillemque reddidit, quod negavit in ea sola positum esse beate vivere. Eius *autem* discipulus Strato *lampsacenus ab eorum consortio amovendus videtur*, qui praecipue necessariam partem de virtute et moribus deserens se ad naturae vestigationem [*sic*] conferens, multis in rebus dissentit a suis (14.27–15.5).
>
> Stein 544.29–36[71]

Subsequent references to the *Academicus Primus* are almost all in the form of paraphrases.[72]

The extent of Scala's quotations and paraphrases clearly demonstrates that he knew all that now remains of the *Academicus Primus*; that some of the passages used by Scala coincide with some used by Patrizi is due to the intrinsic interest of the subject matter itself.[73]

[71] The reading *dissentit* for *dissedit* at 544.36 (= *Ac1* 9,34 (15.5)) is likely to be due to Scala's avoidance of quoting Cicero verbatim; such a reading is not found in the textual tradition until the *editio princeps* of 1471.

[72] A complete list of paraphrases in Scala's work which seem to have been drawn from *Ac1* is:

Scala	*Ac1*	Scala	*Ac1*
542.7	4,15 (7.1–9)	548.14–18	5,19 (9.7–11)
542.9–13	4,17 (7.26–31)	548.23–8	6,24 (10.30–11.9)
543.1–2	9,33 (14.21–2)	548.29	
545.3–10	9,34 (15.5–10)	-549.2	7,26 (11.31–12.12)
545.16	9,34 (15.9–10)	549.2–4	7,28 (12.29–13.1)
545.22–3	12,45 (19.15–16)	549.4–5	7,29 (13.7–11)
545.22–3	4,16 (7.12–13)	549.5–10	8,30 (13.14–22)
	or 12,45 (19.11)	549.10–13	8,32 (14.6–12)
545.29–30	12,46 (20.2–4)	549.13–15	8,30 (13.16–17)
		549.15–22	11,41–2 (17.23–18.13)
547.36–548.2	5,19 (8.25–8)	548.24–8	10.36–7 (15.22–31)
		549.30	
548.5–6	5,19 (9.6–7)	-550.1	10–11,39 (16.18–17.3)
548.6–11	5,20 (9.12–23)		
548.11–14	6,22 (10.14–17)		

The last paraphrase contains several thoughts which are not in agreement with the referenced text of *Ac1*; but the words themselves, which are the interest of this analysis, are drawn from that source.

[73] Passages common to Patrizi and Scala are: *Ac1* 4,17–18 (8.6–15), 12,45 (19.15–16) and 12,46 (20.2–3).

But it does seem more than a coincidence that both Patrizi and Scala refer to a phrase from Ennius' *Neoptolemus* which is found in the *Tusculanae Disputationes*.[74]

In this chapter, especially in those portions which deal with the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, I have limited myself to discussing only those authors who show a direct knowledge of the *Academici Libri* in their writings. In addition I have drawn a limit at around the end of the 15th century.[75] Of course, other people than those whom I have already mentioned were acquainted with the *Academicus Primus* to some extent or other, and are known to us.[76] But evidence of their involvement in this story is provided by the indirect means of their ownership of manuscript copies of the work; this evidence is presented in the next, and largest, part of this book.

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[74] Patrizi ends his letter with: *Nam philosophari mihi placet, sed paucis, ut Neoptolemo illi apud Ennium, nam omnino haud rei meae conducit* (186–7); while Scala begins his letter: *Scribis audivisse a nonnullis qui hinc quotidie ad te veniunt* <*philosophari* add. in mg.> *me caepisse nec paucis ut Neoptolemus apud Ennium*... (540.1–3). The quotation is from *Tusc* II 1,1. At this point I should record that Alamanno Rinuccini (1426–99) is thought by V.R. Giustiniani, (ed.) *Lettere ed orazioni* (Nuova Collezione di Testi Umanistici Inediti o Rari IX), Florence, 1953, 32 no. 12, lines 14–16, in a letter to Giannozzo Manetti, to show some acquaintance with *Ac1* when he writes:

> *Verum haec ad te scribens aliud nihil facere viderer, quam quod vulgatissimo apud Graecos proverbio derideri solet, sus Minervam docere.*
>
> (= *Ac1* 5,18 (8.17–18))

That this proverb is not repeated from the same source as earlier is suggested by the inclusion of *sus*, which had been excluded since Antiquity; nor is it likely to come from *Fam* IX 18,3, where *docere* does not appear, but only the keywords *sus Minervam*. Giustiniani (p. xxvii) dates the letter between 1455 and 1461.

[75] Schmitt, 54–157, has treated fully later interest in the Academy, and the reader is referred thereto for a more comprehensive coverage.

[76] People such as Antonio Corbinelli, Poggio Bracciolini, Giovanni Aurispa, Giovanni Conversini, Francesco Sassetti, the Medici, Matthias Corvinus etc.

PART TWO

THE MANUSCRIPTS

CHAPTER THREE

THE EVIDENCE FOR TWO FAMILIES

The *Academicus Primus* has been preserved in a narrower, less numerous and more recent tradition than most of the other philosophical works of Cicero. While Schmidt counted ninety-six extant manuscript copies of the *De Legibus*,[1] and Pease listed ninety-three known copies of the *De Divinatione* and 122 of the *De Natura Deorum*,[2] and my own incomplete tally of the *De Finibus* has reached nearly 150, there are only sixty-nine known manuscript copies of the *Academicus Primus*. Of these, two were written in the 12th century, and over sixty come from the 15th century; strangely there are no 13th-century copies, and only three from the 14th century.[3] In his smaller edition of the *Academicus Primus*, Plasberg established that the extant manuscripts descend from two hyparchetypes (Γ and Δ) of no later date than the 12th century, and that these hyparchetypes descend from a common parent.[4] Plasberg maintained that neither family is to be preferred over the other, although a comparison of readings where one of the families differs from his text suggests otherwise:

Γ preferred	75
Δ preferred	44
Both traditions combined	1
Both traditions rejected	5
Total number of variations	125

The characteristic differences between the two families are listed below:[5]

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[1] Schmidt, 23; to this number should be added the destroyed Dresd.1.

[2] Pease, *Div* 604, *Nat* 63–81.

[3] Thus the claim of Douglas, 158, that 'all Cicero's extant philosophical works survive in Carolingian manuscripts', is clearly wrong.

[4] Plasberg, *Minor* xvi.

[5] Readings in Roman type are those preferred by Plasberg; italics refer to readings which are shunned by him.

		Γ	Δ
1,1	(1.8)		*ab om.*
	(1.10)	enim	*eum*
1,2	(1.21)	magnum opus	*opus magnum*
	(2.1)	enim	*eum*
1,3	(2.6)	*eum*	enim
2,4	(2.25)	*hoc*	haec
	(2.27)	possunt	*possent*
		volui	nolui
2,5	(3.4)	quoque	*quamquam*
2,6	(3.11)	physica	*physicam*
	(3.13)	etiam	*enim*
	(3.14)	quam	*quoniam*
	(3.17)	simpliciter pecudis enim	*enim simpliciter pecudis*
2,7	(3.28)	*illud igitur*	igitur illud
	(3.29)	quantum	*quantam*
	(4.1)	*dilectionem*	delectationem
2,8	(4.5)	quam rivulos consectentur	*rivulos quam sectentur*
	(4.16)	*praemiis*	*prohemiis*
	(4.17)	voluimus	*volumus*
3,9	(4.18)		*sunt <vera>*
	(4.23)	sacerdotum	*sacerdotem*
	(4.26)		*<a> poetis*
3,10	(5.4)	nescient	*nesciunt*
		ea mihi non sane	*da mihi nunc satisne*
	(5.6)	*potuerunt*	poterunt
	(5.11)	*fuerint*	ut illi
		Aeschylum	*Aeschinem*
	(5.12)	*mirentur*	imitentur
3,11	(5.15)	Varro	autem
	(5.18)		*animo* om.
	(5.21)	*et* om.	
3,12	(6.1)	Graeca	*Graecia*
	(6.3)	Athenis	*Athetus*
		fratrem tu	tu fratrem
4,13	(6.15)	*Pholo*	Philo
4,14	(6.24)	istuc	*istud*
		quidem	*quid est*
4,15	(7.3)	omnes	*omnibus*
	(7.6)		*de*[1] om.
4,16	(7.11)	copioseque	*copiose*
	(7.15)	*se rem*	rem se
	(7.17)	hominis	*omnis*
	(7.19)	*enim*	eius

	(7.20)		*hominibus* <*omnibus*>
4,17	(7.24)	*constituta*	instituta
	(8.6)	*dubitantem*	*dubitationem*
	(8.8)		*est* <*disserendi*>
4,18	(8.15)		*fugiendarumque* om.
5,18	(8.22–3)	*professus iam*	iam professus
	(8.23)	*sum*	sim
			me om.
5,19	(8.24)	*inquit* om.	
	(8.27)		*verum* <*et*>
	(9.1)	primum	*primam*
	(9.6)	*omnia e natura* om.	
		anima	animo
5,20	(9.13)	*ingenii*	ingeniis
	(9.18–19)	assiduitate exercitationis	*exercitationis assiduitate*
	(9.19–20)	ipsa philosophia	*philosophia ipsa*
5,21	(9.26)		*in*$^{1\&2}$ om.
	(9.27)		*et* om.
	(9.28)		*enim* om.
	(10.2)	augendum	*agendum*
6,22	(10.10)	prima in natura	*in prima natura*
6,23	(10.24)	praescriptione	*descriptione*
6,24	(10.30–1)	*docebant*	dicebant
	(11.2)	*efficerentur*	efficeretur
	(11.3)		*tantum modo* om.
	(11.9)	*habitis*	dabitis
7,25	(11.14–15)	*eiusce modi*	huiusce modi
	(11.25)	nobis maius	*magis nobis*
7,26	(12.3)		*hoc* om.
	(12.4)		*et*^{1} om.
	(12.10)	*singulares*	singulare
7,27	(12.12)	*putabant*	*putat*
	(12.16)	*possunt*	*possint*
	(12.17)	*eque*	eoque
7,28	(12.24)	citroque	*introque*
		totam ipsam	ipsam totam
	(12.26)	cohaerente	*cohercente*
	(12.27)		*unum* om.
	(12.28)	*materiae pars*	pars materiae
7,29	(13.3)	*esse*^{2} om.	
	(13.11)	non	*num*
		quidem om.	
8,30	(13.16)	*non* om.	
	(13.20–1)	appellabant	*appellant*
8,31	(13.24)	quod	*quae*

8,32	(14.5)	*explicari*	explicatio
	(14.6)	essent	*esset*
	(14.7)		*quibusdam* om.
8,33	(14.14)		*forma* om.
	(14.18)		*quidem* om.
9,33	(14.21)		*igitur* om.
9,34	(15.7)	*Polemon*	Polemo
	(15.8)	ea	*eis*
	(15.9)	tuebantur	*utebantur*
9,35	(15.10–11)	Archesilam	*Archesilaum*
10,35	(15.18)	nervos	*nervis*
10,36	(15.27)	*dignando*	dignanda
10,38	(16.6)	dicerent	*diceret*
	(16.7)	quasi	*que*
11,39	(16.31)	*arbitrabantur*	arbitrabatur
11,40	(17.8)	teramus	*teneamus*
	(17.11)	*ascensionem*	assensionem
11,41	(17.17)		*alio* om.
	(17.18)	*probatum*	approbatum
11,42	(18.1)	*esset*	esse
	(18.3)	*quod* om.	
12,43	(18.19)	ut/*et*/*at*	*at* <*ab*>
	(18.22)	tuae	*due*
	(18.23)		*ratione* <*nunc*>
12,44	(19.5)	*inbecilles*	inbecillos
	(19.6)	*et* om.	
	(19.7)	*dimersam*/demersam	*diversam*
	(19.8)	*veritate*	veritati
12,45	(19.11)		*ut nihil scire se sciret* om.
	(19.13)	posset	*possit*
	(19.15)	assensione	*assertione*
	(19.16)	*cum*	tum
	(19.19)	assensionem	*assertione*
	(19.21)	disserens de sua	*dies iam*
	(19.21–2)	plerosque	*pleros*
	(19.24)	ascensio	*assertio*
12,46	(20.9)		*et to* om.

Analysis of the differences between Γ and Δ presents the following distribution of readings against the text of Plasberg's edition:

	Γ	Δ
Omissions	8	20
Additions	1	5

Transpositions	6	5
Single-word readings	29	42
Multiple-word readings	1	4

Generally, therefore, Γ seems to present a text which is closer to the autograph than Δ in all areas except transpositions. But Δ is represented by older manuscripts.

CHAPTER FOUR

Δ – THE FRENCH TRADITION

Δ is represented by five French manuscripts, including the two oldest extant copies of the *Academicus Primus*, and an Italian manuscript. Plasberg discovered that the Δ manuscripts form a related group but made few clear statements on their relationships; while he accepted that one was considerably older than the others, he did not say explicitly that it is their parent, but merely contented himself with the statement that they are all related to it *intimo cognationis vinculo.*[1] Of the four other French manuscripts, one is *simillimus* to it, and another *paulo saepius discrepat*; to this last relative another manuscript *proxime accedit sed neglegentius scriptus est.*

Rouse & Rouse clarified the relationships of these manuscripts and the historical surroundings in which they were produced.[2] They are discussed here in groupings which are based on a combination of their age, textual affinities and geography.

The 12th-century Manuscripts

Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 6331 (= *P*)

Sources: Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca* II 757; *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, Paris, 1744, Part III Tome IV, 230; Halm, *Opera* 56; Deschamps, 152; C. Thurot, review of Madvig, *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* 2 (1870), 18; Madvig, xxi–xxii; Gustafsson, *Quaestiones* 11, *Mittheilungen* 465; O. Nigoles, 'Sur Cicéron *de Finibus*', *RP* 4 (1880), 36–7; E.L.M. Châtelain, *Paléographie des classiques latins*, Paris, 1884, I tab. 43b; Reid, 63 and 65; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xvi; Martha, I xxvii; Hunt, 39; Rouse & Rouse, 337–8; Garand, 95; Munk Olsen, 254; *Texts*, xxxvi, 113, 115 and 365; Reynolds, 10–12.

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[1] Plasberg, *Minor* xvi–xvii.

[2] Rouse & Rouse, 337–44. A briefer version is given by R.H. Rouse in *Texts*, 112–15.

Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 28–9 December 1977 and 5 January 1979. Plate 1 (fol. 85^v).

Characteristics: parchment; iii (paper) + 142 + iii (paper) fols.; 252 × 192 mm.; 31 lines; N. France (Normandy?); 2/2 12th cent.; 3 hands: gothic; in-line corrections and marginal variants by contemporary hand; further corrections by 14th-century hand (*Fin* only); many erasures; plain initials (green, light blue, red); quaternions; previous shelf-mark: 5545 (fol. 1^r).

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 85^v–93^v,/ (hand 2) 3. Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 4. idem, *De Clementia*, 5. Ps.-Seneca, *De Remediis Fortuitorum*, (hand 3) 6. Transmundus of Clairvaux, *Passio Sancti Albani.*

Inscription: *Incipit liber* (later hand *I editionis secundae Academicarum Quaestionum M.T. Ciceronis*; Plasberg believed that this replaced *vi de finibus bonorum et malorum*).

Subscription: a lengthy 14th/15th cent. subscription has been erased.

History: Châtelain first identified P as a 12th-cent. manuscript, and Plasberg pointed out that the Cicero and Seneca texts, although written by different copyists, come from the same scriptorium. Rouse & Rouse narrowed the source of P to France, north of the Loire, in the third quarter of the 12th century,[3] and stated that the *Passio* was added at a later time, still in the same century. They demonstrated that the contents of P, without the *Passio*, correspond to an entry in the late 12th-cent. catalogue of books of the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny, preserved in Montpellier, Fac. de Médecine, 12, fols. 176–81:[4]

> *156 Volumine uno: Seneca de beneficiis lib. sex, de clementia duobus, de remediis fortuitorum bonorum uno, de finibus bonorum et malorum vi.*

It will be noted that *Ac1* was mistakenly identified as a sixth book of *Fin*, and that the order of Cicero and Seneca texts is reversed; Plasberg had already suggested that the original title of *Ac1* in P was book six of *Fin*, and Rouse & Rouse observed that the two parts of P had been reversed some time before the 17th century. The first

[3] Munk Olsen suggests that P may have been written in Normandy.
[4] Published in *Catalogue Général de Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques des Départements: 1*, Paris, 1849, 714.

page of the *De Beneficiis* is more discoloured than that of *Fin*, and it bears an erased shelf-mark or ex-libris and a chain-mark, as if it had previously been the first page of the whole book. Whereas Rouse & Rouse hesitated in identifying no. 156 in the Pontigny catalogue with P, believing that P did not have the appearance of a Cistercian book, Garand is in no doubt.[5] Similarly, while Rouse & Rouse suggested that P may have been among the books which were taken from Pontigny to Egres in Hungary, where a daughter monastery had been established in 1179 at the request of King Bela III (for *vacat* was written by a contemporary hand around the entry in the Pontigny catalogue, and the *Passio* deals with St. Alban, legendary King of Hungary), Garand is equally categorical in denying the need to posit any such movement: the *Passio* looks north-eastern French and the works of Transmundus of Clairvaux were widely disseminated in French and Flemish Cistercian abbeys, while St. Alban appears not to have been honoured in Hungary itself. Thereafter nothing certain is known of P for nearly four hundred years. Rouse & Rouse suggest that it may have been at Paris or Avignon between 1409 and 1420, and it is at Paris that the next sign of P appears. In Lambinus' posthumous edition of 1573 notes, probably by Lambinus himself, reveal the use of a *ms. Puteanus*, which had been lent by Claude Dupuy; a feature of the edition is the marginal scholia, and one of them records the reading *ut omnis <opera in scribendis illis> susciperetur frustra* at 2,5 (3.6), which is found only in P and two of its apographs. In his remarkable edition of 1565 Lambinus had referred only to a *codex Memmianus*, belonging to Henri de Mesmes, and it looks as if Lambinus was loaned the *ms. Puteanus* after that date. That the *ms. Puteanus* was P and not one of its apographs is suggested by two facts: 1) P alone was subsequently found at Paris, where Lambinus probably spent the last years of his life until his death in 1572, while the apographs both found their way to Heidelberg by the early 17th century, possibly conveyed by Jan Gruter; 2) P entered the royal library in the 17th century among the books of Pierre and Jacques Dupuy, identified as no. 146 in the catalogue made in 1657 and published by H. Omont, *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1911, IV 200.

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[5] The scripts of the Cicero and Seneca texts in P are close to two examples from Pontigny in the 2nd half of the 12th cent. presented by Samaran & Marichal, I vi pl. cxcviii.

Use: *Puteanus*—Lambinus; P—Baiter, Reid (*Ac1*), Madvig, Thurot, Nigoles, Reynolds (*Fin*); Paris 1—Davies; π—Plasberg.

Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibl., I.C. 47 (= *Amst*)

Sources: M. Bonnet, 'Sénèque *De Remediis Fortuitorum*', *RP* 13 (1889), 25–31; H. Deiter, 'Der Amsterdamer Codex Nro. 80, *Philologus* 24 (1892), 361–3; P.C. Molhuijsen, 'Suffridus Sixtinus', *De Navorscher* 49 (1899), 587–91; M.B. Mendes da Costa, *Catalogus der Handschriften*, Amsterdam, 1902, II 17–18; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xvii; J.U. Fechner, 'Das Schicksal einer Heidelberger Professorenbibliothek. Jan Gruters Sammlung und ihr Verbleib', *Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 11 (1967), 111; Hunt, 41–2; Rouse & Rouse, 338–41; Garand, 95; Munk Olsen, 137; *Texts*, xxxvi and 113; Reynolds, 11. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 1 September 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; iii (paper) + 152 + i (paper) fols.; 338 × 243 mm.; 2 cols. of 84 mm.; 38 lines; France; 12th cent.; one hand: gothic; marginal notes, variants by first and second (15th cent.) hands; some erasures; plain initials (red and blue alternately); holes in parchment; some catchwords; quaternions; each gathering numbered (i–xix); previous shelf-mark I 26.[6]

Contents: 1. Jerome, *De Viris Illustribus* (on Seneca only), 2. Ps.-Seneca, *Epistolae ad Paulum*, 3. *Epitaphium Senecae* (Anthol. Lat. I 667), 4. Seneca, *Epistolae ad Lucilium*, 5. idem, *De Beneficiis*, 6. idem, *De Clementia*, 7. Ps.-Seneca, *De Remediis Fortuitorum*, 8. *Fin*, 9. *Ac1* 148^{v}–152^{v}.

Inscription: *Incipit liber vi* [sc. *de finibus bonorum et malorum*].

History: Until recently Amst was accepted as a 15th-century ms., on the authority of Deiter. The identification of Amst as a 12th-cent. product was made by Rouse & Rouse, who observed that it has the appearance of a 12th cent. Cistercian book, and suggested that it was written at the abbey of Pontigny, for it contains the works of Cicero and Seneca listed in the quoted item of the Pontigny catalogue,

[6] There has been some confusion about the shelf-mark of Amst: on fol. 1^{r} the earliest shelf-mark is *I 26*. Fol. 1^{v} bears *80 U.B.*, and it is this which was adopted by Deiter and Plasberg. Mendes da Costa numbered the manuscript *77* in his catalogue, and this number was followed by Rouse & Rouse. Carla M. Faas of the library, however, has informed me that the correct shelf-mark is *I.C. 47*.

and also those of the very next item: *157 eiusdem epistole in alio volumine ad Lucilium numero CIII.* Pontigny was founded in 1114, the second daughter of Cîteaux, and had a prolific scriptorium during the years 1114–74 and 1189–1202.[7] Nothing is known of Amst until it came into the hands of Jan Gruter (1560–1627),[8] librarian of the Palatine library at Heidelberg from 1602, although a note on fol. 1^r may identify Hieronimus Comelinus (1550–97), publisher of Turnebus' text of *Ac1* at Heidelberg in 1594.[9] Those of Gruter's books which were not lost in one way or another as a result of the capture of Heidelberg in 1622 seem to have been acquired in 1628 by Suffridus Sixtinus of Amsterdam, who had matriculated from Heidelberg in 1619. Sixtinus took Gruter's books back to Amsterdam by 1635, when they were seen by J.F. Gronovius. At his death in 1648 or 1649 Sixtinus left his library to a noble named van Eck, who sold it in June 1650 to Nicolaus Heinsius, Isaac Voss and the later burgomaster of Amsterdam, Johann Six (1618–1700), whose library was auctioned in April 1706. Among the books at this auction was one which contained Seneca's *Epistolae* and *De Beneficiis* etc., which Molhuijsen identified as Amst.

Use: ρ—Plasberg.

Of the readings listed in Chapter Three which characterise the Δ tradition of the *Academicus Primus*, P and Amst share all except one.[10] Moreover, they also show close similarities in their handling of marginal and superscript variants:

1,2 (1.16)	*vel te quere po* [?] *etiam* P: *vel te quere po vel etiam* Amst
2,5 (3.6)	*omnis opera in scribendis illis susciperetur frustra* P Amst
4,13 (6.20)	*vel Philonem* P: *Philonis* in text, *-nem* added above Amst
7,28 (12.26)	*vel coherente* P: *vel choerente* Amst
7,29 (13.9)	*vel item vel interdum* P Amst

[7] See C.H. Talbot, 'Notes on the Library of Pontigny', *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis* 10 (1954), 107.

[8] Interestingly, Gruter does not appear to have used Amst towards the text of *Ac1* in his edition of 1618.

[9] Amsterdam, Univ. Bibl., XV.G.1 (73), a text of Caesar, belonged to Claude Dupuy, Pierre Daniel and Jacques Bongars before coming into Gruter's possession. Is it likely that Amst followed the same path? If so, then the *ms. Puteanus* was Amst.

[10] The only exception is *efficerentur* at 6,24 (11.2), which the first hand of Amst reads together with Γ.

11,41 (17.16)	*vel ferebat vel comprendibile* P: *vel comprendibile vel ferebat* Amst
12,44 (19.7)	*vel dimersam vel diversa omnia* P Amst

However, P and Amst differ in eighteen readings:

1,3 (2.13)	*cum* P: *non* Amst *in rasura*
2,4 (2.19)	*dicam* P: *dico* Amst
3,10 (5.13)	*e* P: *est* Amst
4,13 (6.7)	*te*[1] P: *re* Amst
(6.14)	*correcta* P: *correpta* Amst
4,17 (8.1)	*quia* P: *qui* Amst
5,19 (9.3–4)	*summum illud* P: *illud summum* Amst
6,23 (10.21)	*contemptio* P: *contentio* Amst
7,25 (11.12)	*utare* P: *vitare* Amst
8,31 (13.27–8)	*laberentur* P: *haberentur* Amst
8,32 (14.5)	*probabatur* P: *probatur* Amst
(14.11)	*conclusae* P: *conclusa* Amst
10,38 (16.7)	*que* P, del. corrector: om. Amst
10,39 (16.23)	*matrem esse arbitrabatur* P: *arbitrabatur matrem esse* Amst
11,40 (17.8)	*appellamus* first hand, *appellemus* corrector P: *appellamus* Amst
11,41 (17.17)	*captalempton* P: *captalemptor* Amst
(17.21)	*in re* P: *iure* Amst
(17.26)	*existerat* P: *existeret* Amst

Analysis of these readings leads us to the conclusion that P must be the parent of Amst; for, in fifteen of the eighteen readings where P and Amst differ, P agrees with Γ. Of the three exceptions none provides cogent evidence against such a conclusion: at 10,38 (16.7) P originally read *que* against *quasi* of Γ, but a corrector has deleted the reading and Amst omits the word completely; at 11,40 (17.8) P and Amst originally presented the same reading as Γ, but a much later corrector has amended the reading in P; finally, at 5,19 (9.3–4) P presents a reading which is shared by one half of the descendants of Γ, while Amst has a transposed reading which is found in the other half. Amst nowhere agrees with all the descendants of Γ against the native reading of P; this fact, together with the obvious closeness of the manuscripts suggested by their relatively small number of differences and their similarity in the presentation of marginal

variants, indicates that Amst is descended from P. As they are both late 12th-century manuscripts of a little-distributed pair of Cicero works, it seems probable that P is the parent of Amst.[11]

Amst must have been copied from P after P had undergone a considerable amount of correction, for P is full of erasures with new readings added by a contemporary hand in a slightly lighter ink.[12] The situation is complicated by the fact that many parts of the parchment seem to have been scraped prior to the writing of text by way of preparation of the writing surface, for this does not appear to be a palimpsest. In addition to extensive erasure, other corrections, probably not from a manuscript source, have been made by a second, contemporary hand, and one further correction by a 15th-century hand; the rubricator has deleted three single words as well. In all these characteristics the text of the *Academicus Primus* has undergone the same treatment as the *De Finibus*, as reported by Thurot and Nigoles, except that the 15th-century hand (believed by them to be 14th-century) seems to have had a much greater impact on the *De Finibus*.

Yet another hand, from the 16th century, was involved in changing the title of the *Academicus Primus* on fol. 85^v of P. The first hand had written some such inscription as *Incipit liber VI de finibus* etc., but a corrector changed all but the first words to read . . . *I editionis secundae Academicarum Quaestionum M.T. Ciceronis*. The new title is essentially the same as that found in the majority of printed editions between 1523 and 1583; the editions concerned include those of three generations of Manutius (1523, 1541 etc., and 1583), Bentinus (1528), the Estiennes (1543, 1555), Gryphius (1546, 1559) and Duchesne (1558). In the editions of 1565 and 1577 Lambinus used the title *M. Tulli Ciceronis Academicarum Quaestionum liber primus ad M. Terentium Varronem*; but in the edition of 1573 the title is *M. Tull. Ciceronis Academicarum Quaestionum secundae editionis liber I.* As we have already encountered evidence that Lambinus may have had access to P after 1565, we may surmise that the amendment of the title in P was made by Lambinus himself, or Memmius, or one of the two young men whom, in the *Ad Lectorem* dated 20 February 1566 and published in the 1584 edition, he tells us that he employed to consult old manuscripts.

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[11] Accepted by Rouse & Rouse, 340.

[12] Alternatively, this lightness may be due to the chemical reaction of ink on a scraped surface.

14TH-CENTURY EXTRACTS FROM P

Reims, Bibl. Municipale 872 (= *Rem*)

Sources: *Catalogue Générale des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques de France 39*, Paris, 1904, 187–190; Reynolds, 12–13; seen 7 August 1992.

Characteristics: parchment; 161 fols.; 200 × 278 mm.; 2 cols. of 62 × 191.5 mm.; France; 2 parts: end-13th and 14th cent.; gothic; senions; catchwords; previous shelf-mark: C, ord. 4, no. 73.

Contents: Part 1: 1. Ps.-Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*, 2. *Epitaphium Senecae* (Anthol. Lat. I 667), 3. Seneca, *De Naturalibus Quaestionibus*, 4. Adelardus Bathoniensis, *Quaestiones Naturales*, 5. Abelard, *Epistulae*,/ Part 2: 6. extracts from *Fin* I–III, Seneca *De Clementia*, Ps.-Seneca *De Remediis Fortuitorum*, Seneca *De Beneficiis*, *Fin* IV–V, *Ac1* (161^v^).

Inscription: *tunc sequitur liber quidam nec [. . .] modo intitulatur post quintum nisi quod incipit aliquis liber nescio si est pars libri de finibus bonorum et malorum. sed ex [. . .]. ulacione non uidetur. Incipit autem mtc liber sic.*

Colophon: (161^v^) *Folia absque primo, 161, CLXI, numerata per Egidium de Asperomonte, anno Domini M°CCCC°XII°, die XXVIIII mensis octobris.*

History: Rem formerly belonged to the chapter library at Reims, where Gilles d'Aspremont made his inventory in 1412. Part 2 of the manuscript, which is written in a crabbed hand and is hard to decipher, was added to the book on a separate gathering by the owner of part 1. Originally the folia of part 2 were in the order: 160, 159, 158, 161. In this order the books of *Fin* were presented in correct sequence and in the order found originally in P. The identity of *Ac1* in Rem was not known until Reynolds and even escaped the notice of the cataloguer: the copyist suggests that it may be part of *Fin.*

Use: Reynolds.

Rem contains four extracts from the *Academicus Primus*: 1,1 (1.1–1.4), 3,11 (5.20–23), 7,26–7 (12.3–15), and 12,46 (20.1). Two readings show that Rem is firmly in the Δ family:

7,26 (12.10)	*singulare*
7,27 (12.12)	*putat*

But, over the range of passages presented by Rem, P and Amst do not differ from each other and no further precision is possible. Rem does have several further transpositions and omissions which are not shared by any other manuscripts. Reynolds shows evidence that Rem is a copy of P for the *De Finibus*, but the presence of the *Epitaphium Senecae* in Rem and Amst may indicate Amst as the source of Rem.

15TH-CENTURY COPIES OF P

Leiden, Bibl. der Rijksuniversiteit, Perizon in fol. 25 (= *Leid*)

Sources: Bake, 107–8; J. Geel, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum qui inde ab anno 1741 Bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae accesserunt*, Leiden, 1852, 134–5; Gustafsson, *Mittheilungen* 467–70; F. Boesch, '*De codice Ciceronis Leidensi*', *Mélanges . . . H. Usener*, Bonn, 1891, 76–87; Dougan, xxxix; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xvi; K.A. de Meyier, *Codices Perizoniani* (*Bibliotheca Universitatis Leidensis, Codices Manuscripti IV*), Leiden, 1946, 27–8; idem, 'Les armoires et l'histoire d'un Cicéron de Leyde', *Scriptorium* 2 (1946), 121–2; Pease, *Nat* 71, *Div* 614–15; Lieftinck, 90; Badalì, 56; Schmidt, 57–8 and 61–7; Rouse & Rouse, 342–4; *Texts*, 113 and 127; Reynolds, 13. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 1 September 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; iv (paper) + 324 (formerly 325) + ii (paper) fols.; 292 × 220 mm.; 34 lines; France; 1/4 15th cent.; two hands (fols. 181–5 only by second hand): *littera gothica textualis*; blue, red, white and gold initials in French style everywhere except in *Ac1*, which has simple initial in blue and red halves; 6 sheets; horizontal catchwords and gathering numbers (e.g. *x.mus codex*).

Contents: 1. *Off* (from I 2,4), 2. *Fin* 3. *Ac1* 116^{r}–121^{v}, 4. *Tusc*, 5. *Nat*, 6. *Div*, 7. *Fat*, 8. *Leg*, 9. unknown, *Prophetia de Carolo Magno*, 10. *Sen*, 11. *Am*, 12. *Parad.*

Inscription: (115^{v}) *Incipit eiusdem quedam oratio de eisdem de finibus bonorum et malorum*; (116^{r}) *Quedam oratio tullii ciceronis de finibus bonorum et malorum oratio.*

Subscription: *Explicit liber Marci Tullii Cyceronis de finibus bonorum et malorum. Explicit.*

History: Lieftinck believed that Leid was written in Brittany, while Schmidt preferred north-east France; Gilbert Ouy, according to Rouse & Rouse, is of the opinion that it was written in the scriptorium, if not in the hand, of Pierre d'Ailly (1350–1420), Bishop of Cambrai. Leid is full of arms: those of the Philippes de Barac'h, a Breton family, on fols. 115^{v}, 121^{v}, 178^{v}, 237^{v} and 296^{v}; those of the Dukes of Brittany on fols. 202^{v}, 205^{r} and 223^{r}; and those of Pedro de Luna, Pope Benedict XIII (ca. 1328–1423), on fol. 229^{v}. The last is in the hand of the copyist himself, with the word *hereticus* incorporated. In addition, two names appear: 'Sellarius' over the arms of the Philippes de Barac'h on fol. 296^{v} and alone on fol. 290^{v}, and 'Grunelle' in the bottom margin of fol. 177^{r}. Schmidt suggested that the manuscript was written for the Philippes de Barac'h, or perhaps for Sellarius; no connection has been found between them and Pierre d'Ailly, and it is quite possible that Sellarius belonged to a later generation.[13] The inclusion of *hereticus* in the copyist's hand over the arms of Benedict XIII obviously places the writing of Leid after his relegation to anti-pope at the Council of Pisa in 1409, which was confirmed at Constance in 1417. What is more, the inclusion of seventeen lines on Charles VI of France (1368–1422) suggests that Leid could not have been written before 1411, as the 'prophecy' bears the telling phrase . . . *anno sui regni tricesimo primo*, and he had ascended the throne in 1380. However, the title of the prophecy, *De quondam karolo* . . ., implies that Leid was written after Charles' death in 1422, as Schmidt believes; in this case, Leid must have been written by a former member of d'Ailly's scriptorium. As far as the contents of Leid are concerned, Boesch believed that six sources were used: one for *Off*, a second for *Fin* and *Ac1* (the lost parent of P), a third for *Tusc*, a fourth for *Nat*, *Div*, *Fat* and *Leg*, a fifth for *Sen* and *Am*, and a sixth for *Parad.* The later history of Leid is a little clearer. It came into the possession of the Dutch book-collector S. van Huls (1655–1734), in the catalogue of whose library it is no. 4974; it may well have been at this time that the book was re-covered. It was then purchased by S. Havercamp (1684–1742), and sold as part of his collection at S. Luchtman's in Leiden (no. 1 in the catalogue of

[13] Lieftinck, xxxv, mentions a prelate, Jean Sellier, whose name appears in a document dated 27 October 1465. It is also worth noting that a Cistercian house was founded in 1168 at Sellières, near Troyes; Sellières was founded from Jouy, a daughter of Pontigny.

folio mss.) to the university library, through funds made available by the legacy of J. Perizonius (1654–1715). Leid appears as no. 445 in Geel's catalogue.

Use: E—Bake, Schmidt (*Leg*); π_1—Plasberg; Z—Boesch; L—Gustafsson (*Fin*).

Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 1511 (= *Pal.1*)

Sources: Halm, *Hss* 175; Schiche, iv n. 1; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xvii; Lehmann, 77 and 513; Rouse & Rouse, 344; Fohlen, 165–6; *Texts*, 113; Reynolds, 13. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 3 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + iv + 96 + i (paper) fols.; 340 × 250 mm.; 2 cols of 71 mm.; 33 lines; France; 15th cent.; one hand: cursive gothic; marginal variants; chapter numbers (1–12) in margin, and corrupt passages underlined in same ink (Gruter);[14] parchment prepared in Mediterranean manner; frame on fol. 1^r decorated in NW Italian style with acanthus leaves, gold balls and pastels; blue initials adorned with French gold and blue spiky-leaved vines; horizontal catchwords; quaternions; previous shelf-marks: 1377, 231 hen, p191 F. No. 22, C. 17 511.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 82^v–90^r.

Inscription: *Explicit liber de finibus bonorum et malorum. Incipit liber.* A later hand has added: *Academ. Quaest.*

Subscription: *Deo gratiae.*

History: Pal.1 has been variously dated: Schiche believed that it may have been written in the 16th century, and Rouse & Rouse compare it with a manuscript dated 1406, but note that Armando Petrucci says that it may be from as late as the third quarter of the 15th century, while Fohlen prefers a date at the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century. Rouse & Rouse suggest that the combination of French and Italian elements in Pal.1 may place it at a meeting point such as Avignon. An entry in the Fugger catalogue,

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[14] See Glucker, *Chapter* 105 n. 8.

compiled between 1555 and 1571, corresponds to the shelf-mark *231 hen* on fol. ii^r^, given by Henry Scrimger, who worked for Ulrich Fugger (1526–84), and locates Pal.1 probably at Heidelberg. At his death, Ulrich's collection passed to the Elector Palatine and was housed in the Palatine library at Heidelberg. It was there that its librarian Jan Gruter had access to Pal.1 and used it towards his text in the edition published at Hamburg in 1618. Pal.1 was among the spoils taken from the Palatine library in 1622 and given to Pope Gregory XV the following year.

Use: *Palatinus quartus*—Gruter; π_2—Plasberg.

While Leid and Pal.1 clearly belong to the Δ tradition, they show a much greater affinity to P than to Amst:

4,17 (8.1)	*quia* P Leid Pal.1: *qui* Amst
5,19 (9.3–4)	*summum illud* P Leid Pal.1: *illud summum* Amst
8,32 (14.5)	*probabatur* P Leid Pal.1: *probatur* Amst
(14.11)	*concluse* P Leid Pal.1: *conclusa* Amst
10,39 (16.23)	*matrem esse arbitrabatur* P Leid Pal.1: *arbitrabatur matrem esse* Amst
11,41 (17.26)	*existerat* P Leid Pal.1: *existeret* Amst

Nowhere do they both agree with Amst against P.

Leid and Pal.1 do not share any readings of secondary origin against P, but each has its own variants. Leid presents twenty-two readings against the tradition of P and Pal.1, including the omissions of *te* at 3,12 (6.4), *in*[1] at 7,27 (12.18), *effici* at 11,39 (16.28), *rationi* at 12,45 (19.20), and *nullius* at 12,46 (20.5). Readings of secondary origin in Pal.1 number only eight, including the omission of *qui* at 3,10 (5.9). In addition Pal.1 (like Amst) presents all the marginal variants found in P; the only difference is that Pal.1 omits *omnia* from *vel dimersam vel diversa omnia* at 12,44 (19.7). Leid does not present any marginal variants, but reads *interdum*, which is found as a marginal variant in P, in the main body of the text at 7,29 (13.9). Thus it is certain that Leid and Pal.1 are descended from P.

Textually, Pal.1 is closer to P than is Leid and seems to be a direct copy of P, while Leid seems more distant. This impression is reinforced by the agreement of Leid with other members of the Δ tradition against P: 2,7 (3.25) *persequemur* P: *persequamur* Leid Conv

Vict; 7,29 (13.11) *num* P: *non* Leid Conv Vict; 8,31 (13.27–8) *laberentur* P: *haberentur* Leid Amst Vict. But a non-textual factor provides striking evidence that Leid is, after all, a direct copy of P.

Not only is Leid written in the style, and with the orthography, of an older gothic manuscript, but the initial letter of the *Academicus Primus*, unlike the initials of the other works, looks to be a direct copy of the initial in P. What is more, some drawings found mainly in the *Tusculanae Disputationes* in Leid are similar to some on fol. 140^v of P. I believe, therefore, that both Pal.1 and Leid are direct copies of P. One reading suggests the sequence in which they were written: at 11,40 (17.8) P now reads *appellemus*, where the second '*e*' is raised and written *in rasura*. Pal.1 also reads *appellemus* as its native reading, while Leid and Amst read *appellamus*. I believe that P originally read *appellamus* as well and that Leid was copied from P before Pal.1; perhaps it was the copyist of Pal.1 who changed the reading in P. No copies of Leid or Pal.1 are extant.

15th-century Copies of Amst

Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Conventi Soppressi 131 (= *Conv*)

Sources: Montfaucon, *Diarium* 374, *Bibliotheca* I 418; Deschamps, 134; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Blum, 90, 98 and 140; Ullman, *Origin* 81; Hunt, 39–42; de la Mare, *Handwriting* 50 n. 1, *Script* 96–7; Rouse & Rouse, 341; *Texts*, 113–4; Reynolds, 29. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 31 March 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; iii + 120 + iii fols.; 289 × 192 mm.; 25 lines; Florence; 1406; one hand: humanist; marginal names and topics; superscript variants; gold initials on blue, red and green sections; horizontal catchwords; quinions; previous shelf-mark: 2634.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 111^v–120^r.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM DE ACADEMICIS.*

Subscription: *Non reperitur plus: tanta fuit negligentia atque inscitia eorum qui iam nos multis seculis anteiverunt qui suae inertiae utinam et ignorantiae praemia digna ferant.*

Colophon: (111r) *Absolvit enim scriptor postrema manu ad iiii Kal. Iunias verbi anno incarnati m.cccc.'sexto.*

History: Ullman compares the colophon with that found in Conventi Soppressi 111, which Professor de la Mare believes to have been written by the same copyist: *Postrema tandem manu absolutus est Kalendis Iuniis anno ab incarnato verbo MCCCC quinto.* Conv appears to have been written for, or possibly even by, Antonio Corbinelli (ca. 1370–1425), whose monogram (*A.C.*) appears twice on fol. 1r, and also on fol. 120v, together with the name of the Abbatia Florentina, the Badia. Corbinelli, a pupil of Salutati and Chrysoloras and a friend of Guarino, Aurispa and Niccoli, left his books to the Badia, where they were installed by 1439 at the latest.[15] Blum reports the following entry in the early 16th-century inventory of the Badia: *533 Tullius de finibus bonorum et malorum et fragmentum de accademicis in membranis volumine mediocri corio rubeo. s. 33 A.C.*[16] Conv was collated by Lagomarsini in 1740 and was designated IV 28;[17] a note, in Lagomarsini's hand, records: *Inter codices designatur num. 130.* Conv passed to the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in 1808.

Use: in ζ—Plasberg; C—Reynolds.

Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 14761 (= *Vict*)

Sources: Deschamps, 175; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xvii; Rouse & Rouse, 341–2; *Texts*, 113 and 142; G. Ouy, V. Gerz von Büren, R. Hubschmid and C. Regnier, *Le catalogue de la bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint Victor de Paris de Claude de Grandrue*, Paris, 1983, 353; Reynolds, 13. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 28–9 December 1977 and 28–9 December 1978.

Characteristics: paper (watermarks: Briquet 392, 1680, 10004) and parchment; 298 + i fols.; 280 × 200 mm.; 44 lines; Paris; 1457–63; 4 hands: 1. Italian, 2. French gothic, 3. humanist (Girolamo da Matelica), 4. French 12th cent.; superscript corrections by first hand;

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[15] For Corbinelli's life, see the entry in *DBI* 28 (1983), 745–7 [A. Molho], and Blum, 39–47.

[16] Blum, 140.

[17] For a discussion of Girolamo Lagomarsini (1698–1773) and his collation of manuscripts of Cicero, see Schmidt, 421–3. Mss. of *Ac1* which were collated by him are: Conv (IV 28), Laur.1 (IV 57), Ricc.1 (IV 91) and Ricc.2 (IV 103).

catchwords; mainly 11 sheets with single sheet of paper at beginning and in middle of each gathering; previous shelf-marks: hhh 12 (Grandrue, 1514), 249 (Yvon d'Herouval, ca. 1690), 128 (ca. 1750) and St. Victor 90 (Bibl. Nat., 1796).

Contents: (hand 1) 1a. *Fam*, (hand 2) 1b. *Fam*, 2. *Epitaphium Ciceronis* (Anthol. Lat. I 603–14), 3. *De Orat*,/ 1c. *Fam*, 4. *Pet*, 5. table to *Fam*,/ (hand 3) 6. *Fin*, 7. *Ac1*, 292^{v}–296^{v},/ (hand 4) 8. Vulgate, *Mark* 4.36–5.33, 10.4–10.35.

Inscription: *INCIPIT LIBER SEXTUS* (last two words scored through and replaced by *Academica Prima*).

History: That part of Vict which contains *Ac1* was probably written at Saint Germain des Prés in Paris by Girolamo da Matelica, whose hand was identified by Professor de la Mare. Girolamo was an Augustinian hermit who worked for Vespasiano da Bisticci at Florence, and studied at Paris between 1457 and 1463, supporting himself by copying books. Girolamo's portion of Vict bears three watermarks: 1) an archer surmounted by a cross, similar to Briquet 392, found in Belgium in 1463; 2) a crossbow and unicorn, Briquet 10004, found at Longchamps in 1453, Paris 1457–8 and Troyes 1458–60; 3) a fleur-de-lys on a shield, Briquet 1680, found at several places starting with Paris in 1451. Vict consisted of all its present contents, plus some works concerning alchemy, by 1514 when it was listed in the inventory of St. Victor made by Claude de Grandrue. The missing last part consisted of the following: *Theorica peroptima ad cognitionem totius alkymie veritatis. 298 Practica prefate theorice. 319 Quedam alia concernentia alkymiam. 336 Tabula super predictis de alkymia. 359 A Scilicet tercii: ab omnibus; B: de aqua forti; C: 361 et usque 372.* The St. Victor fonds passed to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1796.

Use: V—Halm. Erroneously referred to as Paris, Bibl. Nat., Lat. 7784 by Reid and Stroebel.

Plasberg recognised that Amst and Vict were closely related: *Ad hunc* (i.e. Amst) *proxime accedit sed neglegentius scriptus est codex Parisinus bibl. nation. Lat. 14761 olim S. Victoris 90.*[18] He did not record the readings of Vict in his apparatus, possibly because he suspected that it

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[18] Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xvii.

was a copy of Amst. But he does not appear to have appreciated the importance of Conv; of the large number of *deteriores* (ω), of which Conv is identified as one, Plasberg declared: *Cum hos codices aut ex ipso Parisino π aut e fonte simillimo ductos esse appareat, ad alterum eiusdem classis exemplar ab illo aliquantum discrepans redeunt.* In the preface of the *editio maior* he promised clarification of the family, but it never appeared. That Plasberg did not identify the source of the *deteriores* is surprising, as an examination of his own apparatus clearly points the way. Amst, Vict and Conv (plus the *deteriores* generally) share eight significant readings against the tradition of P: *re* against *te*[1] at 4,13 (6.7), *qui* against *quia* at 4,17 (8.1), *illud summum* against *summum illud* at 5,19 (9.3–4), *contentio* against *contemptio* at 6,23 (10.21), *conclusa* against *concluse* at 8,32 (14.11), *arbitrabatur matrem esse* against *matrem esse arbitrabatur* at 10,39 (16.23), *iure* against *in re* at 11,41 (17.21), and *existeret* against *existerat* at 11,41 (17.26). These agreements suggest that the three manuscripts are somehow related against P, and that Conv and Vict may be descendants of Amst (it will be remembered that Amst is a 12th-century product, while Conv and Vict were both written in the 15th century). Initially Vict looks more likely to be descended from Amst than does Conv, for Vict agrees in error with Amst against Conv and P at four places:

1,3 (2.13)	*cum* P Conv: *non* Amst (*in rasura*) Vict
2,4 (2.19)	*dicam* P Conv: *dico* Amst Vict
3,10 (5.13)	*e* P Conv: *est* Amst Vict
11,41 (17.17)	*captalempton* P Conv: *captalemptor* Amst Vict

But Vict, in turn, agrees with P against Amst and Conv twice:

4,13 (6.14)	*correcta* P Vict: *correpta* Amst Conv
8,32 (14.5)	*probabatur* P Vict: *probatur* Amst Conv

These reversions in Vict to a pre-Amst reading are more likely to be due to interpolation or 'error' than to contamination, as both forms are clearly required by the context, and contamination would surely have had a much wider impact. Vict shows many more deviations from the received text, which are not found in any other manuscript. In addition, at 7,29 (13.7) Vict presents the reading *pertineant*, which is the corrected form in Amst, while Conv follows the first hand of Amst in reading *pertinent.* This suggests that Conv may have been

copied from Amst in an earlier form, and Vict copied after correction to Amst; in fact, the *rasura* at 1,3 (2.13) in Amst may well be the work of Girolamo da Matelica himself. This is historically plausible as Conv was written in 1406, and Vict during the period 1457–63. But there is much more to Conv than we have seen so far.

It is unlikely that Conv is a direct copy of Amst, since Conv is a Florentine product, while Amst seems never to have been in Italy; there must be at least one missing link between them. Conv is remarkable among the descendants of P in that it alone identified the *Academicus Primus* correctly. It probably owes this fact to contamination with a member of the Γ tradition. Such contamination is not limited to the title of the work, but is also found in the text, where several readings are presented which were unknown to its ancestors. One reading, *fugiendarumque* at 4,18 (8.15), which is present in Γ, but absent from P and its other descendants, is supplied in the margin of Conv by the copyist himself, while the following agreements with Γ against P are found:

2,4 (2.27)	*possunt* Γ Conv: *possent* P
2,8 (4.5)	*quam rivulos consectentur* Γ Conv: *rivulos quam sectentur* P
(4.17)	*voluimus* Γ Conv: *volumus* P
3,9 (4.23)	*sacerdotum* Γ Conv: *sacerdotem* P
3,10 (5.3)	*hoc* Γ Conv: *haec* P
3,12 (6.3)	*Athenis* Γ Conv: *Athetus* P
7,26 (12.10)	*singulares* Γ Conv: *singulare* P
8,30 (13.20–1)	*appellabant* Γ: *appellant, -ba* added above Conv: *appellant* P
8,31 (13.27–8)	*laberentur* Γ Conv: *haberentur* P
9,34 (15.8)	*ea* Γ *eis, ea* added above Conv: *eis* P
10,35 (15.18)	*nervos* Γ Conv: *nervis* P

While some of these readings may be orthographically preferred or *lectiones faciliores*, the weight of them suggests contamination. The source of such contamination will be discussed later.[19] It is this contamination and the obvious attempt to improve the text which gives Conv its importance as the first Renaissance edition and its impact on the future direction of the text may be more than fortuitous.

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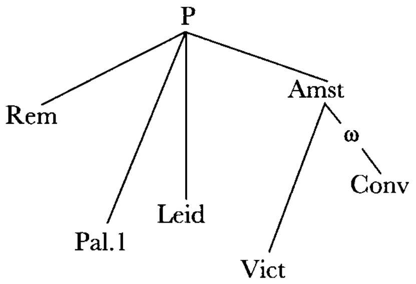
[19] See p. 114.

The Stemma of Δ

The preceding pages have established the stemma of Δ as:



P was written in northern France during the second half of the 12th century. It was at the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny during the last quarter of that century, when Amst was copied from it. P and Amst both probably stayed in France: P until the present day, giving rise to the extracts in Rem, which were copied in the 14th century, and Leid and Pal.1, which were copied from it in the early 15th century, possibly at Paris, and Amst until the late 16th century; Vict was copied from Amst around 1460. An earlier copy of Amst was also made (ω) and found its way to Italy by 1406, when Conv was copied from it. Thus we lack only the parent of Conv for certain from this small family of manuscripts, indicating the relative unpopularity of the *Academicus Primus*, if not the *De Finibus* as well, in France between the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

In P, Amst and Vict the title of the *Academicus Primus* is given as book six of the *De Finibus*, a fact which may account for the preservation of what remains of the *Academicus Primus* in one branch of the *De Finibus* tradition.[20] In Rem, Leid and Pal.1, on the other hand, the title of the *Academicus Primus* is indeterminate, suggesting that their copyists suspected that the text in front of them was not a sixth book of the *De Finibus*, either because the original title of P had already been partially erased or corrected, or because they knew from another source that the *De Finibus* consisted of only five books, but they still did not know the true identity of the work. In Conv alone of the Δ tradition was the correct title of the work revealed under the influence

[20] See p. 111.

of the contaminating member of the Γ tradition. As far as the contents of the descendants of P are concerned, it is interesting to note that only the 12th- and 14th-century copies contain the Seneca works as well as the *De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus*; all the 15th-century manuscripts, whether copied from P or Amst, selected the Cicero works only. Finally, from a textual stand-point, P is the only member of the Δ tradition which is required to help establish the text of the *Academicus Primus*.

All other members are ultimately descended from P, and where any changes were made to it, the original reading is still visible. Thus Δ is rendered unnecessary in a discussion of the textual tradition of the *Academicus Primus*.

CHAPTER FIVE

Γ – THE ITALIAN TRADITION

The earliest extant witnesses to Γ date from the late 14th century and were written in Italy. But there is evidence that a member of this family was present there by mid-century and we should remember that some form of text of the *Academicus Primus* was available to Dante when he wrote the *Convivio* during the first decade of the century. Unfortunately, the *Convivio* is written in Italian and the text is not sufficiently transparent to show whether he used a descendant of P or Γ. But the fact that the *Convivio* was written mainly at Bologna between ca. 1304 and 1307 suggests, as we shall see, that Dante used a descendant of Γ.

Γ AND PETRARCH

Not surprisingly, Petrarch is central to the tradition of the *Academicus Primus* in Italy. The first definite sign of Γ there appears in the *Rerum Memorandarum Libri* (I 14.4–5), when Petrarch quotes a long passage from the *Academicus Primus* 3,9 (4.18–29), which shows two significant agreements with Γ:[1]

4	*sunt* <*vera*>	=	*Ac1* 3,9 (4.18)
5	*quidem poetis* (recte)	=	*Ac1* 3,9 (4.26)

Secondly, in the *Secretum*, Petrarch uses the expression:

> . . . *is qui iam quattuor libris Achademiam defenderat de omnibus dubitantem.*
> *Secretum* III[2]

[1] The full text appears in G. Billanovich, ed. *Rerum Memorandarum Libri*, Florence, 1943, 14–15.

[2] The text quoted appears in A. Bufano, *Opere latine di Francesco Petrarca*, Turin, 1974, I 196; unfortunately no closer reference is possible as the *Secretum* is not subdivided below the level of book.

Here Petrarch was obviously influenced by the phrase *illam autem socraticam dubitantem de omnibus rebus* at 4,17 (8.6–7) in the *Academicus Primus*; *dubitantem* is found only among the descendants of Γ, while P and its descendants read *dubitationem*.[3]

But it is not clear when Petrarch received a copy of the work. He did not include the *Academicus Primus* in his list of books (*Libri Mei Peculiares*) compiled probably between 1333 and 1337, although the *Lucullus* is included under the mistaken identity of the *Hortensius*.[4] The *Secretum* has been dated to 1342–3, and the *Rerum Memorandarum Libri* were written in Provence by September 1343.[5] And yet, in a letter written over thirty years later and only shortly before his death, Petrarch recalled that, during a mission to Naples between October and early December 1343, he had been given a small book by Barbato da Sulmona (ca. 1300–63), whom he had first met on his previous visit to Naples in February and March 1341:

> *Post hec vero, cum Neapolim venissem, Barbatus meus Sulmonensis, amicus optimus et tibi forsan saltem cognitus, voti mei conscius, parvum Ciceronis librum michi donavit, cuius in fine principium solum erat libri Achademicorum, quod ego perlegens conferensque cum illis qui inscribuntur de laude philosophiae, luce clarius deprehendi illos esse duos—tot enim sunt—tertium et quartum vel secundum et tertium Achademicorum, subtile opus magis quam necessarium aut utile. Sic longaevo errore liberatus sum.*
>
> *Rerum Senilium* xvi 1

Opinion is divided on the identity of the *parvum libellum*. Nolhac and Sabbadini believed that the *Lucullus* was meant, while Billanovich considers that it was the *Academicus Primus*.[6] As the text stands, Billanovich appears to be right; the *Academicus Primus* formed the beginning only of the second edition, while the *Lucullus* formed the second half of the first edition, and the *Academicus Primus* was usually found at the end of books, after the *De Finibus*. The contrast of

[3] Petrarch used a similar expression to this in the *Rerum Memorandarum Libri* passage already referred to: *in ipsis Achademicorum libris, in quibus nichil omnino firmandum sed de omnibus dubitandum disputat.*

[4] The list was discovered in Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 2201, and published by L. Delisle, *Notice sur un livre annoté par Pétrarque*, Paris, 1896 (reprinted from *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 35).

[5] Thus E.H. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, Chicago, 1961, 37–9.

[6] Nolhac, I 245; Sabbadini, *Nucleo* 375; Billanovich, 34–5.

the unnamed work with the so called *De Laude Philosophiae* again points to it being the *Academicus Primus*, for the *Lucullus* was often identified as the *Hortensius* or *De Laude Philosophiae*, as we see in Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 6283 and 6375, in London, British Libr., Harley 6327, and in Troyes, Bibl. Municipale, 552. Indeed, the last-named manuscript, a well-known collection of Cicero texts (excluding the *Academicus Primus* and *De Finibus*) which belonged to Petrarch, bears his marginal note to the title of the *Lucullus*:

> *Hec rubrica, quamvis sit communis, falsa est tamen. Non est hic liber de Laude philosophiae, sed Achademicorum quatuor duo ultimi.*
>
> fol. 253^r

Billanovich believes that Petrarch's discovery of the letters *Ad Atticum* in the spring of 1345 at Verona enabled him to sort out the complicated history of the publication of the two editions. The further confusion of the *Lucullus* as two books, whether the second and third or third and fourth, is explained by Nolhac as being due to a fortuitous break in the text of the Troyes manuscript, followed by a decorated initial *H* at 19,63 (57.17) in the *Lucullus* (*Hortensius autem vehementer*...).[7]

If the manuscript which Petrarch was given by Barbato in late 1343 contained the *Academicus Primus*, why did he make such a fuss about it, when he had already cited the work, correctly identified, in a work which he had composed earlier the same year? Three possible solutions to this problem suggest themselves:

* Petrarch received the *parvum libellum* during his previous visit to Naples in 1341;
* the reference to the *Academicus Primus* had not yet been written into the *Secretum* and *Rerum Memorandarum Libri*;
* the ascribed date of composition of the work is wrong.

The first solution is supported by the fact that Petrarch's report of his receipt of the book was written over thirty years after the event, when he was very old; it seems quite likely that he confused his visits to Naples, coming, as they did, close together in the same period

[7] This same passage probably corresponds to the point at which *Luc* was divided into books three and four of the second edition by Cicero, and also accounts for the identity of *Luc* as the lost *Hortensius*.

of his life. But it could be argued that Petrarch is unlikely to have confused the circumstances of first meeting Barbato and being given a book by him. The second solution is supported by the fact that it is known that the *Secretum*, at least, was revised by Petrarch; it was originally written in 1342–3, but the version which we have dates from 1353.[8] That the third solution is possible is shown by the way in which the evidence of information supplied from the tradition of the *De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus* has been used to redate the *Secretum*. It seems to me that the answer to the problem lies in reconciling the second and third solutions, for it seems fairly certain that the *parvum libellum* refers to the *Academicus Primus*, probably appended to the *De Finibus*.[9]

Petrarch's copy of the *Academicus Primus* is, sadly, no longer extant. Both Billanovich and Rouse & Rouse discuss the possibility that it was no. 260 in the 1426 catalogue of the Visconti library at Pavia, to which the bulk of Petrarch's collection passed:[10]

> *Tullius de finibus bonorum et malorum in forma parva et littera antiqua, copertus corio rubeo veteri albicato, cum quo est eiusdem liber Achademicorum non completus. Incipit 'Non eram nescius Brute', et finitur 'quadam fuit facultate'.*

The same manuscript probably appears as B. 470 in the 1459 catalogue, but it is missing from the 1518 catalogue, which was made after the collection had passed to the French.

The obvious conclusion is that the Pavia manuscript was not Petrarch's: the *explicit* of the *Academicus Primus* is not that of the Γ tradition as a whole, lacking *et to*, and *littera antiqua* probably means that it was written in humanistic script, an imitation of antique Carolingian script. Indeed, the Pavia manuscript could still be extant among the nine manuscripts which contain these two works and

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[8] The date of composition of the *Secretum* has been recalculated recently on the basis of evidence supplied by *Ac1*. See F. Rico, *Vida u obra de Petrarca, I. Lectura del Secretum* (Studi sul Petrarca 4), Padua, 1974.

[9] That Petrarch did not identify the main text of Barbato's book as *Fin* is considered by Reynolds to be because it was *Ac1* which was the topic of his reference. It may also be due to the fact that Petrarch had already received a copy of *Fin* without *Ac1* (he refers to that work in the *Metrica* 2,9, written in May 1344) and that it was no longer a new work which merited mention.

[10] Billanovich, 38–9; Rouse & Rouse, 358. The collection is listed by G. d'Adda, *Indagini Storiche . . . sulla Libreria Visconteo-Sforzesca del castello di Pavia*, Milan, 1875, I 55, and E. Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza*, Paris, 1955, 210.

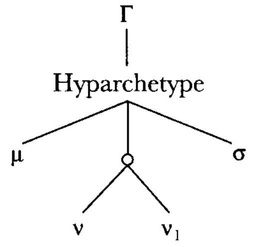
were written between 1406 and 1426. Anyway, we have already established that the copy which Petrarch used for the *Rerum Memorandarum Libri* and *Secretum* was a member of the Γ tradition, and an extant manuscript shows signs of descent from Petrarch's own manuscript.

The Extant Manuscripts

Ten descendants of Γ exist with texts of the *Academicus Primus*, and they generally have a more southerly distribution than P and its descendants. It is paradoxical, however, that the larger number of members of this family does not enable us to draw up as satisfactory a stemma as with P. Plasberg divided the descendants of Γ into two groups, which he called a *genus corruptum* and a *genus interpolatum*. One of the few satisfactory observations which can be made is that this division accords with the geographical and historical evidence provided by the manuscripts. I have renamed these two groups a north-east Italian and a Florentine branch, respectively.

A North-east Italian Branch

This group of five manuscripts consists of the four which Plasberg placed in his *genus corruptum*[11] and another which he missed. While he did not provide a clear description of how the members of this group are related, his chosen *sigla* and the few words which he did say on the subject give the impression that he would have drawn up the following stemma:



[11] Plasberg, *Minor* xviii.

Plasberg affirmed that μ and σ were the better witnesses to Γ, as v and v_1 were descended from a manuscript which may have been corrected against a member of the P tradition. The discovery of a fifth member of this branch has proved to be of limited value in establishing the text of the *Academicus Primus*, but it has helped to clarify the stemma.

The characteristic readings of secondary origin in this branch are:

3,10	(5.6)	*causa* for *causae*
4,16	(7.13)	*<in> id*
4,17	(7.28)	*praestantissimos* for *praestantissimo*
	(8.7)	*consuetudine* for *consuetudinem*
5,21	(9.28–9)	*esse* after *quandam*

The issue is complicated, however, by the fact that the texts of two members of the branch are incomplete. Indeed only the last reading above is found in all members of the branch. Of the five manuscripts in the branch, three are closely related, and I shall deal with these first.

A Family of Related Members

Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, 9116 (= *Ma*)

Sources: Hartel & Loewe, 360; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xviii; Grubbs, 184; Menéndez y Pelayo, 205–6; E. Pellegrin, 'Manuscrits des auteurs classiques latins de Madrid et du chapitre de Tolède', *Bulletin d'Information de l'IRHT* 2 (1953), 11; Pease, *Nat* 69; Rouse & Rouse, 364; *Texts*, 115; Reynolds, 25–6; idem, 'Petrarch and a Renaissance Corpus of Cicero's philosophica', in *Formative Stages of Classical Traditions: Latin Texts from Antiquity to the Renaissance*, Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, Spoleto, 1994, 409–433. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 20 July 1979.

Characteristics: parchment; ii (paper) + 256 + ii (paper) fols.; 330 × 235 mm.; 36 lines; Padua or Bologna; end 14th cent.; one hand: gothic; marginal topics and names by first and a second hand; purple initials with red and green leaves on a blue background, and

red, blue and green leaves in margin; horizontal catchwords; quaternions; former shelf-mark: Aa 25.

Contents: 1. *Nat*, 2. *Tim*,/ 3. *Div*,/ 4. *Tusc*, 5. *Parad*, 6. *Fin*, 7. *Ac1* (to 10,38 (16.6)) 249^{v}–254^{v}.

Inscription: *Incipit liber Achademicorum M.T. Ciceronis.* (In margin by second hand: *Fragmentum seu libri pars.*)

History: Hartel observed that most of the folios are palimpsest, the underlying writing containing business accounts in a 14th-century hand. The card catalogue of the Bibl. Nacional records that the decoration of Ma is in the style of the Bologna school at the end of the 14th century. Reynolds suggests that Ma may be a Paduan manuscript; it has marginalia in *Fin* which, although not in his hand, are typical of Petrarch, consisting of cross-references to other classical texts and adverbial comments. Marginalia by the first hand in *Ac1*, however, are limited to paraphrases of philosophical matters in the text. Reynolds suggests that Ma is a copy of one of those manuscripts which are known to have found their way to Padua after Petrarch's death. Although Ma seems to have been written by one copyist, it has a complex foliation: originally *Nat* started at fol. 75^{r}, the previous folios having since been lost, and a fresh foliation started with *Tusc.* A third numbering system starts at the modern 181^{v}, where *Parad* gives way to *Fin* in mid-page. Errors of page- and number-omission have been made in both the original and modern numbering. *Ac1* once ran down to its present end at 12,46 (20.9), as is shown by the facts that only the last three folios of the last gathering of ten sheets are missing, and two descendants of Ma, as we shall see, offer all that has survived of the text of *Ac1*. Originally, then, Ma consisted of 333 folios, the first 74 having since been lost. It seems likely that the various parts of Ma were written by the same copyist and joined together by him. The only part which may have been written by someone else is a brief portion of *Div* on fol. 100. Nothing is known of the later history of Ma until it was acquired by the Biblioteca Nacional in the 18th century, although a watermark in the fly-leaves is similar to Briquet 16078 and 16080, which were produced in the early 16th century at Chartres, Cologne, Sens, Arras and Eichstadt.

Use: v_1—Plasberg (*fere non commemoratus*); M—Reynolds.

Cesena, Bibl. Malatestiana, S.12,6 (= *C*)

Sources: F.A. Zacharia, *Iter literarium per Italiam*, Venice, 1762, 95; Muccioli, II 68–72; Zazzeri, 354–9; Sabbadini, *Scoperte* II 212–13; D. Fava, *Tesori delle biblioteche d'Italia*, Milan, 1932, 98; *Texts*, 101 and 102 n. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 10 April 1978. Plate 2 (fols. 25^{v}–26^{r}).

Characteristics: parchment; i + 34 + i fols.; 292 × 217 mm.; 38–42 lines; N.E. Italy (Verona?); 2/2 14th cent. and early 15th cent.; 3 hands: 1) large formal gothic; 2) cursive gothic; 3) formal gothic; superscript additions and corrections by first hand; one marginal note; blue and red initials; horizontal catchword on fol. 20^{v}; quinions.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Somn*, 2. Ausonius, *Perioche in Homeri Iliadem et Odysseam,/* (hand 2) 3. Salutati, *Declamatio super Lucretiam Tarquinii Uxorem*, 4. Avogarius de Orglano, *Declamatio Veronae et Consolatoria Romae*, 5. Matthaeus Avogarius, *Epist. ad Corradum de Carreto*, 6. unknown, *Libellus Supplex ad Imperatorem Carolum IV*, 7. *Opt*, 8. *Ac1* 25^{v}–29^{r}, (hand 3) 9. unknown, *Carmen super Troiae Destructionem.*

Colophons: (19^{r}) *Data Alexandriae xx Julii 1406*; (20^{v}) 5 Nov. 1355; (23^{v}) *Florentie V Novembris.*

History: C consists of two parts: the first (hand 1) is attributed by Muccioli to the 14th century, and by Zazzeri to the second half of that century, while Fava believed it to be a product of the 15th century; the second (hands 2 & 3) is generally accepted as being from the 15th century, perhaps 1406 as the date on fol. 19^{r} suggests. The date on fol. 20^{v} is believed by Zazzeri to have been written in the 15th century. C belonged to Giovanni Marco da Rimini (d. 1474), formerly the private doctor of Malatesta Novello and later chief physician to Pope Sixtus IV. He left his collection of 120 books to the library of the Franciscan convent at Cesena. A third of these books seem to have been disposed of, but the remainder are still found in the Bibl. Malatestiana.

Use: This is the first collation of C.

Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, IV.G.46 (= N_2)

Sources: Montfaucon, *Diarium* 312; Janelli, 234–5; Stroebel, 26–8; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xviii–xx; Mercati, I 112 n. 5; Gutierrez, 146; Schmidt, 256–7; Rouse & Rouse, 365; *Texts*, 102 n. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 7 April 1978.

Characteristics: paper (watermarks: Briquet 11669 or 11672–81 and 7269 or 7271); ii + 44 + i fols.; 293 × 215 mm.; 2 cols. of 66 mm.; 34–9 lines; N. Italy (Padua?); 1/4 15th cent.; 2 hands: cursive gothic; marginal corrections by first hand; space left for initials; titles by later hand; horizontal catchwords; quinions.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Leg*,/ (hand 2) 2. Vegetius, *De Re Militari* (excerpt),[12] 3. *Part*, 4. *Opt*, 5. *Ac1* 35^v–40^r, 6. *Tim.*

Inscription: *Fragmentum academicorum* (by later hand); in the margin is . . . *ro alio volumine*, the beginning having been lost when the page was trimmed.

History: While the watermark in *Leg* (Briquet 11669 or 11672–81: a cross on a mountain-top) was widely produced, that found elsewhere in N_2 (Briquet 7269 or 7271: fleur-de-lys) is less common, coming from Mantua 1399 and Siena 1403 (7269), and Udine 1407–8, Lucca 1408–9, Volterra 1410, Florence 1410–13, Pistoia 1411, Palermo 1412 and Catania 1413 (7271). N_2 has generally been accepted as a late 14th or early 15th-century manuscript, and Schmidt points specifically to the first quarter of the 15th century. Notes in N_2 have been identified by Mirella Ferrari as being by Gasparino Barzizza (1371–1431), who taught at Padua between 1407 and 1421. The first identified owner of N_2 took possession of it only at the end of the 15th century, or at the beginning of the 16th, as the entry on fol. 2^v shows: *A. Iani Parrhasii et Amicorum emptus Mediolani quatuor argenteis.* Aulo Giano Parrasio (1470–1521) from Cosenza taught at Milan between 1499 and 1507. An entry on fol. 44^v reveals the next owner: *Antonii Seripandi ex Iani Parrhasii testamento.* Parrasio appears to have left all his books, including two or three others which contain *Ac1*,[13]

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[12] For Vegetius (called 'Modestinus' in N_2), see L. Dalmasso, 'La storia di un estratto di Vegezio', *RIL* ser. 2,40 (1907), 805–14.

[13] Neap. 1, probably Neap. 3, and perhaps N_1.

to Antonio Seripando (1485–1531), who joined them to his own collection in the Augustinian monastery of San Giovanni at Carbonara, near Naples. Antonio left his books, in turn, to his brother Girolamo (1492–1563), Archdeacon of Salerno and a legate at the Council of Trento. Girolamo assigned the collections to the monastery in 1552. An inventory of 1570 reveals only the *De Re Militari* among the works contained in N_2, but the two parts of N_2 were already joined in the time of Parrasio, as a contents list on fol. ii^v, with clarifying remarks in Parrasio's hand, gives all the present contents of the manuscript. The library of San Giovanni was brought under secular control in 1792, and its books were transferred in 1800 to the Museo Borbonico, now the Bibl. Nazionale.

Use: N—Stroebel; v—Plasberg; Neap.2—Schmidt (*Leg*).[14]

That $MaCN_2$ are closely related within the north-east Italian branch is shown by the fact that they share over thirty readings of secondary origin, including four omissions and eight additions, of which two are particularly striking:

6,22 (10.11) *expetenda* <*beatam vitam in virtute positam beatissimam pluribus egere*> CN_2: add. in mg. Ma^2
9,35 (15.15) *vides* <*Zenonis doctrina explicate tradita haec de virtute atque aliis multis*> CN_2: add. in mg. Ma^2

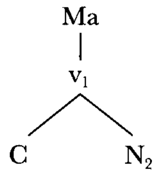
These two readings give the clue to the relationship between the three members of this family: CN_2 are descended from Ma. For CN_2 share seven single-word omissions, three additions and eight transpositions, as well as a large number of other errors against Ma. The most striking of these agreements are the transposition/omission *quibus dicuntur* for *dicuntur e quibus* at 7,26 (12.7), and the transposition *in bonis actionibus sola* for *sola in bonis actionibus* at 10,37 (16.3). C and N_2, in turn, both display further errors against the combination of the other and Ma; C, for example, has fifteen omissions of its own, while N_2 presents nine. C is generally more corrupt, but I suspect that this may be attributable to the copyist rather than the exemplar which he used, and I believe that C and N_2 are copies of a

[14] N_2 was omitted from the list of manuscripts of *De Re Militari* given by Shrader, *Ownership* and *Handlist*.

common parent (v_1). It is worth noting that C and N_2 both contain the *De Optimo Genere Oratorum*,[15] followed by the *Academicus Primus*, which originally had neither an inscription nor a subscription.

Ma, on the other hand, has only three readings in error against v_1 and no omissions among them: *initium* <*ipsius*> at 6,23 (10.18), *monendi* for *movendi* at 7,26 (12.7), and *Erates* for *Crates* at 9,34 (15.7). These readings represent the only obstacle to accepting Ma as the parent of v_1; but they are not insurmountable problems. The deletion of <*ipsius*> could easily have been achieved in v_1, as it is an obvious duplication in the phrase *officii ipsius initium* <*ipsius*> *reperiebatur*, while the correction of *monendi* to *movendi* in v_1 is demanded by the antithesis *movendi . . . et efficiendi: accipiendi et . . . patiendi*. Only the correction of *Erates* to *Crates*, slight as the change is, may not be easily explained, requiring either the use of another manuscript or knowledge of ancient philosophy on the part of the copyist or corrector.

Positive evidence that Ma is the parent of v_1 is supplied by the marginal additions in Ma cited above and the addition of <*et*> at 1,1 (1.8) and 3,9 (4.25) in CN_2, where Ma uses a line-filler, resembling an ampersand. I construct the stemma of this part of the tradition as follows:



CN_2 may not be totally eliminated from the reconstruction of the text of the *Academicus Primus*, however, as they are the only witnesses to this part of the tradition from 10,38 (16.6), where Ma ends. v_1 was obviously copied from Ma at a time when Ma was complete; whether Ma contained the final *et to* at 12,46 (20.9) or not, as I suspect, or whether *et to* was omitted from v_1, may not be ascertained.

Plasberg observed that N_2 shows several agreements with Δ against Γ, but was uncertain whether to attribute this to chance or correction from a source among the descendants of P.[16] The discovery of

[15] Furthermore, Professor Reeve in *Texts*, 102 n. 12, places C and N_2 in the same family for the text of *Opt.*

[16] Plasberg, *Minor* xx.

C, however, and its descent with N_2 from Ma brings light to this matter. For it is not only N_2, but also Ma and C which, to varying extents, show striking agreement with P and its descendants. All three members of this family show the following apparent agreements in error with P against Γ: *ad agendum* for *ad augendum* at 5,21 (10.2), and *possint* for *possunt* at 7,27 (12.16). In addition, $MaCN_2$ all agree with P against Γ in the following readings where Plasberg prefers the reading of P: *Roma* for *Romam* at 1,1 (1.2), *haec* for *hoc* at 2,4 (2.25), *nolui* for *volui* at 2,4 (2.27), *imitati* for *imitari* at 2,8 (4.11), *putent* for *putant* at 4,16 (7.14), *sim* for *sum* at 5,18 (8.23), and *illa antiqua* for *antiqua illa* at 6,22 (10.13). Further agreements, from 10,38 (16.6), may only be glimpsed tantalisingly through CN_2.

The agreements of CN_2 with P against Γ are: *istud* for *istuc* at 4,14 (6.24), *ut nihil scire se sciret* om. at 12,45 (19.11), and *et to* om. at 12,46 (20.9). The two omissions are particularly striking: they originate either in v_1 or in the lost end of Ma, and are due either to contamination with a descendant of P, or to coincidental error. If they originate in v_1, then they are more likely to be errors of omission, as they are the only examples (apart from *istud*, which we have discounted) of possible contamination at this level; if, on the other hand, they originally occurred in Ma, they are more likely to be further evidence of contamination with a descendant of P.

The agreement of Ma or, where Ma is deficient, of CN_2 with P is not qualitatively significant; all agreements in Ma itself are of the type which could reasonably be interpolations by the copyist, while the omission of *et to* at 12,46 (20.9) could have been made consciously because of the obvious incompleteness of the phrase.[17] Only the omission of the longer passage at 12,45 (19.11) remains, and that has the look of a gloss; alternatively it may be that Ma was copied from Γ before any of its other extant descendants, and that this reading was added as a gloss in Γ afterwards. If that was so, perhaps the other readings where Ma agrees with P against Γ were originally to be found in Γ as well. A further possibility, that Ma is independent of Γ, is briefly discussed later.

If the agreements of Ma with P are not qualitatively significant, they are at least quantitatively impressive. I feel that, if we accept that Ma is basically a descendant of Γ, then we must posit conta-

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[17] This has been suggested by Plasberg, *Minor* xx, and Rouse & Rouse, 358.

mination in Ma or its parent. Such contamination would have taken place during the last decade or two of the 14th century; the only descendant of P which could have been available at this time in Italy was ω, the lost parent of Conv, at Florence.

In addition to the agreements of the whole group $MaCN_2$ with P, CN_2 individually show further agreements in error with it: C omits *ab* at 1,1 (1.8), and *de*[1] at 4,15 (7.6), N_2 reads *qui* for *quia* at 4,17 (8.1), and *illud igitur* for *igitur illud* at 2,7 (3.28). C shows a further agreement in error with the *deteriores* (mainly Italian descendants of P) with the reading *et* for *etiam* at 2,5 (3.2). None of these readings carries enough weight to make us suspect separate contamination, although C was certainly used to contaminate a member of the *deteriores*. Bi-directional contamination is unlikely to have occurred.

Plasberg considered the possibility of contamination on the basis of one manuscript (N_2) only, whereas we have studied it at four levels: i) in the parent of Ma; ii) in Ma; iii) in v_1; iv) in C and N_2 individually. What Plasberg studied was a synchronic state which had built up through a diachronic series of contamination, on the one hand, and at least two levels of error and conscious correction, on the other hand. Thus N_2 gave an appearance of being more heavily contaminated than it really is. In fact, contamination took place (if it took place at all) at only one level: either in the parent of Ma, or in Ma itself. Although errors and conscious corrections were made in v_1, only one coincided with a reading in error in P. Further errors and changes were made in C and N_2 individually, which brought their texts nearer to that of P and its descendants by accident. It is statistically inevitable that a few of the large number of errors and changes in CN_2 would present readings found in P, but not in Γ.

The source of these three manuscripts seems to be north-east Italy. Ma is written in the style of Padua towards the end of the 14th century and is decorated in a Bolognese style; v_1 was written soon afterwards at Padua, where N_2 was copied, and was probably taken to Verona, where C was copied; both were written in the first quarter of the 15th century. But we also know that Ma, especially in the *De Finibus*, shows signs of being descended from a manuscript which belonged to Petrarch. Some of Petrarch's books were taken to Padua at his death, and Ma bears all the characteristics of a copy of such a book. The only copy of the *Academicus Primus* which Petrarch is known to have possessed is that which was given to him by Barbato

da Sulmona at Naples in 1343. Thus we may with justification posit a lost manuscript (v) above Ma, and identify it with the Barbato book. Contamination of v by ω must have taken place shortly before Ma was copied, towards the end of the 14th century.

Independent Members

Modena, Bibl. Estense, Lat. 213 (= *Mu*)

Sources: Stroebel, 726–7; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xviii; Rouse & Rouse, 364; *Texts*, 115; Gargan, 371; Reynolds, 26. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 29 March 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + 76 + i (paper) fols.; 240 × 171 mm.; 28–31 lines; Italy (NE?); late 14th cent. (before 1394); 3 gothic hands; marginal notes to *Ac1* by first and another hand; superscript corrections by first and another hand, and in-line corrections by another hand; Greek words in margin; red initials; horizontal catchwords; senions (i–v) and quaternions (vi–vii); former shelf-marks: IV.B.59, IV.G.5 (?), VI.C.19, XII.E.6 and α.Q.5.11.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 68^r–73^r, 3. Apuleius, *De Magia* XIII 5–XXV 4.

History: Fol. 1^r bears a note in the bottom margin which has been damaged by cutting, and the only words which may be clearly discerned are . . . *die iii Juni 1393 Indictione prima Bartholomaeus subscripsi.* On the evidence of five other mss., Gargan has identified the first part of the *indictio* as *Magister Iohannes de Ravenna condusit* . . .; the five other mss. all contain *indictiones* on two earlier dates in 1393 and attest their importation into Padua from Venice, where Giovanni Conversini da Ravenna (1343–1408) had left his books in the care of his sons. Bartholomaeus was obviously a customs officer at Padua. Mu thus already existed by 1393, and it has the appearance of a late-14th-century book. The fly-leaves bear a watermark of a fleur-de-lys with the initials *AMP* underneath; the fleur-de-lys was commonly found, but the initials are not reported by Briquet. Pellegrino Loschi and Giovanni Panelli, in their hand-written catalogue of 1756–9, mention a front fly-leaf, no longer found in Mu, which contained a letter from Poggio to Leonardo Bruni. The presence of Mu in this catalogue suggests that it came from the collection of the Este

family, although it does not appear in the inventories of 1436, 1467 or 1480.[18] The library of the Este was originally at Ferrara, and was taken to Modena in 1598.

Use: μ—Plasberg; O—Reynolds.

Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, IV.G.43 (= N_1)

Sources: Janelli, 233; Gustafsson, *Mittheilungen* 465–70; Schiche, vii–viii; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xviii; Martha, I xxvii; Rouse & Rouse, 364–5; Fossier, 198; *Texts*, 115; Reynolds, 27. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 7 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; iii (paper) + 102 + iii (paper) fols.; 242 × 167 mm.; 30 lines; NE Italy (Padua? Venice?); 2/4 15th cent.; one hand: humanistic; marginal names by first hand, and marginal and superscript notes and corrections by a second hand; spaces left for initials; catchwords; quaternions; former shelf-marks: D. 3 no. 26, n. 20, No. 109.

Contents: 1. *Fin* (to *contenta est quare* at V 27,79 (195.9)), 2. *Ac1* (from *pravumve quid* at 5,19 (8.28) to *itaque aer* at 7,26 (12.3), and from *ad probandum* at 8,32 (14.8) to end) 95^v–99^v.

History: Little is known about N_1; while it is generally accepted as a 15th-cent. Italian product, Professor de la Mare has suggested to me that it was written in the second quarter of that century in NE Italy, possibly at Padua or Venice. The second hand, which has made marginal and superscript notes, resembles Parrasio's; frequently the identity of a speaker who is represented only by a pronoun is indicated by the distinctive *scilicet* sign found in Parrasio's other books. If N_1 did belong to Parrasio, as I believe, then it is likely that he obtained it between 1507, when he left Milan, and 1511, when he arrived at Naples; during the intervening years, interestingly, he visited Vicenza, Venice and Padua. Subsequently N_1 formed part of the Farnese library, where it appears in the catalogues of ca. 1653 (no. 283) and of Pietro Rutinelli (no. 376); this latter catalogue suggests that N_1 was copied in 1478. The Farnese library was founded by Alessandro Farnese (1468–1549; Pope Paul III from 1534), and augmented by his grandson Alessandro (1520–89). During the mid-17th

[18] J.W. Thompson, *The medieval library*, Chicago, 1939, 509–88.

cent. the library was taken to Parma, and it was then transferred to Naples in 1736.

Use: σ—Plasberg; S—Gustafsson (*Fin*); N—Schiche (*Fin*).

While MuN_1 both display all the distinctive features of the north-east Italian group, they are not further related to each other or to $MaCN_2$. Mu, for example, has over seventy errors against the received tradition, including the following omissions which are not found in any other manuscripts: *est* at 1,1 (1.2), *rerum* at 7,26 (11.28), *ita* at 11,41 (17.24), and *ab* at 12,43 (18.22). In addition many corrections have been made, both by the copyist himself and by at least one other hand, and many errors have been marked for deletion by underscoring. Perhaps the most significant such correction is the addition of *-ctrina* by a hand other than the copyist's to *et do-* at the end of the *Academicus Primus*; this is the only manuscript in which such a reading is found. The sequence of events in the production of Mu seems to have been: i) Mu was copied hastily with in-line corrections; ii) the copyist made mainly superscript corrections against the exemplar and added interpolated readings; iii) a corrector made marginal corrections against the exemplar.

N_1 is a more carefully written manuscript than Mu; nevertheless it contains thirteen errors against the tradition of the north-east Italian group which are not found elsewhere, including the omissions of *his* at 10,38 (16.17), *et* at 11,41 (17.18) and *Socratem*[2] at 12,44 (19.2), and the readings *aliquibus* for *a quibus* at 6,24 (11.10), *tractabatur* for *tradebatur* at 8,32 (14.10), *invictos* for *iunctos* at 11,40 (17.6), *hoc quidem verbum* for *hoc verbum quidem* at 11,40 (17.8–9), and *contra* for *supra* at 11,42 (18.2).

N_1 is a fragmentary manuscript, lacking the end of the *De Finibus*, and the beginning and a middle portion of the *Academicus Primus*. The missing parts were lost at different times. When it was written, N_1 lacked only the end of the *De Finibus*, and the beginning of the *Academicus Primus*; the text of the *De Finibus* flows into the *Academicus Primus* without a break, and the identity of the work is confused in the top margin, where the numeral '*V*' runs uninterruptedly through book five of the *De Finibus* and the whole of the *Academicus Primus*.[19]

[19] We may gain some understanding of what happened to an ancestor of N_1 by a statistical analysis of N_1 itself. In terms of lines of Teubner text, the present and missing parts of N_1 originally were as follows:

N_1 is the only descendant of Γ which confuses the *Academicus Primus* with the *De Finibus*, but even here it is not called a sixth book of the *De Finibus*, as in P originally. Indeed, at two places (above *Atticus* at 7,25 (11.12) and *inquit* at 7,26 (11.30)) superscript notes read *Piso*, clear evidence that Parrasio believed that he was still reading book five of the *De Finibus*, where Piso features.

Then the outside sheet of the last gathering, containing original folios 97 and 104, was lost, causing the gap between 7,26 (12.3) and 8,32 (14.8) of the *Academicus Primus*. The inclusion of *quare* from *De Finibus* V 27,79 (195.9) as the first word on the page where the *Academicus Primus* starts (fol. 95^v) is curious; it is spelled with a capital initial letter and has become attached to the text of the *Academicus Primus*. It is tempting to imagine that its survival in this position was due to its appearance as a catchword in the exemplar from which N_1 was copied; but, if this were so, it would be a remarkable coincidence that *quare* should appear as the first word on a recto page in the exemplar and on a verso page in N_1.

Relationships of MaMuN₁

MaMuN_1 are descended independently from a lost manuscript (μ). The agreements in error within this branch are few and not particularly significant:

Fin	I 1,2 (1.1) to V 27,79 (195.9)	5960 lines (present)
	V 27,79 (195.9) to end	258 lines (missing)
Acl	1,1 (1.1) to 5,19 (8.28)	231 lines (missing)
	5,19 (8.28) to end	344 lines (present)

The portions present in N_1 relate to lines of Teubner text as follows:

Fin	5960 lines/189 ms. pages = 31.534 lines per ms. page
Acl	344 lines/11 ms. pages = 31.272 lines per ms. page

These ratios give us the following numbers of pages missing:

Fin	258 lines/31.534 lines per ms. page = 8.181 pages
Acl	231 lines/31.272 lines per ms. page = 7.386 pages

The sum of these calculations gives 15.568 pages of manuscript; on the assumption that N_1 and its exemplar had pages of a similar size, if we make a small allowance for the fact that the *Acl* calculation is based on a small sample, and that the end of the work probably did not fit tightly into the end of a page, then we may round the sum up to 16 pages (8 folios), or a whole gathering of four sheets.

1. MuN_1 against Ma (or v_1, where Ma is lacking)
   5,19 (9.4) *referentur* MuN_1: *referrentur* Ma
   12,45 (19.14) *quamquam* MuN_1: *quemquam* v_1

2. MaMu against N_1
   10,37 (15.30) *pleris* MaMu: *pluris*[2] N_1

3. v_1N_1 against Mu
   12,43 (18.25) *desidium* v_1N_1: *dissidium* Mu

It is worth remarking that MuN_1 both present the marginal note *bona corporis* at 5,19 (9.7), while at 5,20 (9.12) N_1 reads *bona animi* in the margin and Mu presents *idem* (sc. *bona*) *animi*. Perhaps these notes were inherited from a common source also.

The whole question of relationships within the branch $Ma(v_1)MuN_1$ is vexed by the fragmentary nature of two of these manuscripts. While Ma may be reconstructed where it is lacking, N_1 may not. The only parts of the text where we may look with any certainty for significant agreements across the whole branch are as follows:

5,19 (8.28) to 7,26 (12.3)	$MaMuN_1$
8,32 (14.8) to 10,38 (16.6)	$MaMuN_1$
10,38 (16.6) to 12,46 (20.9)	CN_2MuN_1

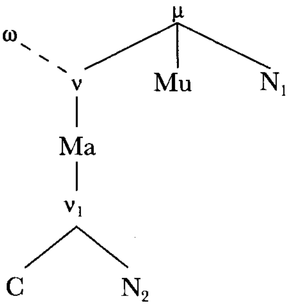
In the remaining portions of the text we cannot tell whether agreements between Ma and Mu were inherited from μ, as I suspect, or were innovations in MaMu or an intervening manuscript.

The only stemmatic problem is to find how far $MaMuN_1$ are removed from μ. Mu is a corrupt and much corrected manuscript; N_1 is more carefully written, but is not without some striking errors of its own; Ma may have been contaminated either directly or through its parent from P or one of the descendants of P, such as ω. In view of its corruptness, Mu could well be a copy of a hyparchetype of the north-east Italian branch, while MaN_1 seem nearer to the archetype. If Ma is a direct copy of μ, then any contamination must have occurred during the writing of Ma itself; otherwise we should expect contamination in other copies of μ which were made after Ma. But, while Mu could have been written already by the time that Ma was copied, N_1 was written last of all—and it is not a contaminated manuscript. For N_1 was copied from an exemplar which lacked the beginning of the *Academicus Primus*. These hypotheses accord happily with

such external evidence as we have of MaMuN$_1$. MaMu are both from the end of the 14th century, while N$_1$ seems to date from the second quarter of the next century.

But another factor may be of significance here: Ma is the only member of the branch to present a title for the *Academicus Primus*: *liber Achademicorum M.T. Ciceronis*. MuN$_1$ do not identify the work. Either μ presented some such title as that found in Ma, but was not followed by MuN$_1$; in the case of N$_1$, only a subscription would have been of any use, and it would have presented an inconsistency with the title of the *De Finibus* (the end of the *De Finibus* and the beginning of the *Academicus Primus* having been lost). Or μ lacked a title for the *Academicus Primus*. In that case, we might expect that the inscription was supplied in Ma from the contaminating source; but the title in P, and in some of its nearest descendants, seems to have been *liber sextus de finibus*, or something similar. The oldest extant descendant of P to identify the *Academicus Primus* correctly is Conv, written in 1406, although it is quite likely that the missing parent of Conv (ω) also identified the work correctly, and was available in Italy, probably at Florence, at the end of the 14th century. But there are too many uncertainties to come to any firm conclusion here.

It seems simplest to picture the stemma of the north-east Italian branch of the Γ tradition as follows:



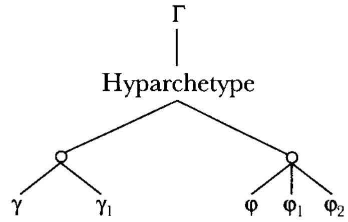
Recent, unpublished research by Leighton Reynolds suggests that, for the *De Finibus*, Ma and Mu have so many errors in common that they must be closely related against N$_1$.[20] It is possible that they may have the same relationship for the *Academicus Primus*, but this is obscured by the small amount of text which MaMuN$_1$ present in

[20] See p. 107.

common. Certainly on the evidence available it is not possible to reach such a conclusion.

A Florentine Branch

The second branch of the Γ tradition, which Plasberg called 'interpolated',[21] also consists of five extant manuscripts. Plasberg further divided them into two groups and implied that their relationship was as follows:



Plasberg did not supply any evidence for calling this branch 'interpolated', but he did discuss at some length the value of γ, remarking that Reid believed it to be of less authority than Halm, Baiter and Müller had accepted, and that it had been corrected with interpolations by a learned scribe.

That these five manuscripts form a related group is clearly demonstrated by over eighty common readings of secondary origin, including thirteen omissions, and three additions:

1,3	(2.5)	*tamen* om.
	(2.11)	*tecum* om.
2,4	(2.17)	*saepe* om.
2,5	(3.3)	*sic* om.
3,10	(5.14)	*aut* om.
3,12	(6.4)	*etiam* om.
5,20	(9.15)	*<ad> memoriam*
5,21	(10.1)	*<de> naturali*
6,22	(10.4)	*sunt* om.
7,28	(12.24)	*materiam <iam>*
7,29	(13.7)	*ea* om.

[21] Plasberg, *Minor* xviii.

8,31	(13.23)	*esse* om.
9,34	(15.1)	*omnino* om.
	(15.3)	*se* om.
12,44	(19.6)	*et* om.
	(19.8)	*tenebris* om.

Four of the five manuscripts come from Florence, the earlier group written between 1410 and 1450, and the later between 1450 and 1460.

The Earlier Family

Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Strozzi 37 (= *L*)

Sources: Bandini, *Cat. Laur.* II 379; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xix; Badalì, 50; Rouse & Rouse, 364. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 31 March 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; ii (paper) + ii + 82 + i (paper) fols.; 297 × 205 mm.; 24 lines; Florence; 1410–20; one hand: humanist; marginal notes and superscript variants in another hand; gold initials with white vine-stems, interstices in pink, red and green within a narrow blue border; arms of Mario Maffei of Volterra; horizontal catchwords; quinions; previous shelf-marks: no. 884 (Strozzi's library?), and S 1 12 (or 5112).

Contents: 1. *Parad,/* 2. *Am,/* 3. *Sen,* 4. *Somn,* 5. *Fat,* 6. *Ac1* 64^{v}–73^{r}, 7. *Arch.*

Inscription: *M.T. Ciceronis incipit pars quedam cuiusdam libri Achademicorum librorum.*

Subscription: *Nil plus repperi et credo nil plus reperiatur de libro isto. Laus deo.*

History: The script is early humanist and there are several notes after the style of Salutati. L is one of only two manuscripts of *Ac1* which contain *Arch,* discovered at Liège in 1333 by Petrarch. Fol. 1^{r} bears the arms of Mario Maffei (1463–1537), but L is not included in the list of his books published by J. Ruysschaert.[22] Whether Mario

[22] J. Ruysschaert, 'Recherche des deux bibliothèques romanes Maffei des xve et xvie siècles', *Bibliofilia* 60 (1958), 306–55.

was given L by his father or his brother Raffaele (1451–1522), or whether he acquired it through his own efforts, I have been unable to discover. Mario gave away some of his books during his own lifetime, while the remainder passed to the grandson of his adopted son, Mario junior (d. ca. end 16th cent.). A note in the top margin of fol. 1^r reads *De figli et hered. dom Mario Maffei.* Other names to appear in L are *Uxorius via 113* on fol. 1^r, and *M.:Asterius:Quirinus:Iomastro* on fol. 80^v. L was one of 3000 mss. in the library of Carlo Strozzi (1587–1670), whose ex-libris, dated 1670, is on fol. 1^r. Carlo's mss. stayed with the Strozzi family until Maria Caterina gave them to the Duke of Tuscany in 1785; he divided them between the Medicea-Laurenziana (186 mss.) and the Magliabecchiana libraries (1509 mss.).[23]

Use: φ—Plasberg; Badalì without *siglum* (*Parad*).

Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 1720 (= *V*)

Sources: B. Nogara, *Codices Vaticani*, Rome, 1912, III 203; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xix; Rouse & Rouse, 365. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 5 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + 210 + i (paper) fols.; 315 × 200 mm.; 34 lines; Florence; 1425–40; one hand: humanistic; in-line corrections by first hand; marginalia by Guglielmo Tanaglia; gold initials with white vine-stems, interstices in pink and green within a narrow blue border; miniature on fol. 1^r by Battista di Biagio Sanguigni; space left for arms; devices of Pope Pius IX and Card. A. Lambruschini on spine; no catchwords; quinions.

Contents: 1. *Brut*, 2. *Orat*, 3. *De Orat,*/ 4. *Sen*, 5. *Am*, 6. *Fat*, 7. *Ac1* 203^v–209^v.

Inscription: *MARCI TULLII CICERONIS PARS CUIUSDAM LIBRI UNIUS ACHADEMICORUM. LEGE FELICITER.*

Subscription: *Marci Tullii Ciceronis pars Achademicorum explicit. Non reperitur plus. Valeas qui legis.*

[23] Fava, 61.

History: As the whole of V is by one hand, a terminus for its copying is provided by the discovery of *Brut, Orat* and *De Orat* by Gerardo Landriano at Lodi in 1421. The decoration is by Battista di Biagio Sanguigni, who ran a workshop at Fiesole which flourished around 1430.[24] Marginal notes were added by Guglielmo Tanaglia (recognised by Professor de la Mare) to all the texts except *Fat* and *Ac1*. Tanaglia (1391–1460) was a Florentine who studied at Padua in 1420 and was one of the executors of the will of Niccolò Niccoli in 1437.[25]

Use: φ_1—Plasberg (*Maior* only: *fere non commemoratus*).

El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo, T.III.18 (= *Scor.2*)

Sources: Haenel, 942; Hartel & Loewe, 248; Antolín, IV 151; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xix; Domínguez Bordona, 84 no. 1581; Grubbs, 184; Rouse & Rouse, 364. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 18 July 1979.

Characteristics: parchment; iii (paper) + 235 + iii (paper) fols.; 218 × 155 mm.; NW Italy (Milan?)/Spain; 1/2 15th cent.; two hands: 1) gothic cursive, 2) gothic formal; few corrections by another hand; initials elaborately decorated with miniatures; binding in the style of the Escorial; horizontal catchwords; mainly 6 sheets; previous shelfmarks: V.G.22 and III.D.17.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Orat*,/ 2. *Brut*, 3. *Top*, 4. *Fat*,/ 5. *Ac1* 152^r–164^r,/ (hand 2) 6. *Her.*

Inscription: *M.T.C. Achademicorum liber incipit.*

History: Scor.2 consists of two separate parts, of which the first could be from NW Italy, Spain or even France; Professor de la Mare thinks that the decoration could be Milanese. Perhaps Scor.2 was written in Italy by a Spaniard close to the court of Pope Callistus III (1455–8), a fellow Spaniard. The miniature which introduces the text of *Ac1* depicts a monk holding a scroll which reads *Sapiens deliberat ante + cum consilio fac + non penitebis.* Fol. 1^r bears the reverse

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[24] See M. Levi d'Ancona, 'Zanobi Strozzi reconsidered', *Bibliofilia* 61 (1959), 2.
[25] Cosenza, IV 3365.

image of a note which was originally on the fly-leaf opposite; this note consists of about nine words and includes the phrase *B* . . . *liber P* . . ., but is otherwise illegible.

Use: φ_2—Plasberg (*fere non commemoratus*).

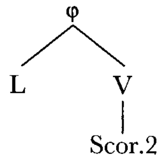
LV and Scor.2 share sixteen readings of secondary origin against the archetype of the Florentine branch, including *nobis* for *homini* at 2,7 (4.3), *iierem iam* (LV) or *veram iam* (Scor.2) for *veterem iam* at 4,13 (6.9), and *non* for *nunc* at 12,43 (18.22). There are no omissions, additions or transpositions.

V and Scor.2 are more closely related to each other than is L to either of them. L stands alone in this group against the received tradition in nearly forty readings of secondary origin, including the omission of *ista* at 1,2 (1.14), and of *genera* at 6,22 (10.5). V and Scor.2, in turn, agree against L and φ, their common ancestor, in over twenty readings in error, including the omissions of *autem* at 4,13 (6.10), *quae* at 6,23 (10.23) and *neque*^{1} at 12,45 (19.14), and the addition *sororis* <*P*> at 4,17 (7.27).

Thus neither L nor either of the pair V and Scor.2 can be the parent of the other, but the relationship of the latter does seem to involve parentage. In twenty-eight out of thirty-one readings where they differ, it is Scor.2 which departs from the tradition; in the remaining three cases, V twice presents readings in error which could reasonably have been corrected by the copyist of Scor.2.[26] Scor.2 itself has a few corrections, including the marginal addition of *ut* at 3,12 (6.1), which are not found in L or V; but the source of these corrections is difficult to ascertain as their effect is simply to restore traditional readings.

I believe that LV are direct copies of the parent of the family (φ), the former written less carefully by a copyist who allowed several non-Latin forms into the text, the latter by a copyist who was prepared to make changes for the sake of providing what appeared a better sense. φ was probably Florentine, written only shortly before its oldest copy around 1410. The stemma of the family is:

[26] Viz. *inteperantis* for *intemperantis* at 1,2 (1.19), *Hypericlem* for *Hyperidem* at 3,10 (5.14), and *primam* for *primum* at 5,19 (9.1).



The early *fortuna* of these three manuscripts is far from clear: for whom was L written, and how was it acquired by Mario Maffei? Even more puzzling is the provenance of Scor.2: how and when did it arrive in Spain? It is interesting to note the connecting link which is provided by the Strozzi family: Zanobi Strozzi worked for Battista di Biagio Sanguigni, the decorator of V, while Carlo Strozzi owned L two centuries later.

The Later Family

Gdansk, Gdanska Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 2388 (= *Ged*)

Sources: Halm, *Opera* 56; Baiter, ix; Müller, iii; Reid, 65; Stroebel, 726–8; O. Günther, 'Der Neapolitaner Johannes Bernardinus Bonifacius, Marchese von Oria, und die Anfänge der Danziger Stadtbibliothek', *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie August Wilmanns . . . gewidmet*, Leipzig, 1903, 121; idem, *Katalog der Handschriften der Danziger Stadtbibliothek*, Danzig, 1909, III 277; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xix; Bouveret, IV 344; Rouse & Rouse, 364; *Texts*, 115; Reynolds, 30 n. 96. Microfilm of whole ms.

Characteristics: parchment; 142 fols.; 235 × 165 mm.; 28 lines; Florence; ca. 1460; one hand: humanistic; names and corrections by second hand; miniatures in blue, green, red and gold; no catchwords; previous shelf-mark: IX.B.q.11.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 128^{r}–138^{v}.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS COMMENTUM SUPER LIBRUM ACHADEMICORUM INCIPIT.*

Subscription: *Nil plus repperi et credo nil plus reperiatur de libro isto etcetera.*

Colophon: (126^{r}) *M.T. CICERONIS DE FINIBUS BONORUM ET MALORUM LIBRI EXPLICIUNT FELICITER PER ME ORMANNUM ETC.*

History: Ged was written by the same copyist as Farfa, ms. 8, in the Bibl. Nazionale Centrale at Rome, containing Ps.-Cicero *De Proprietatibus Sermonis*, extracts from Varro *De Lingua Latina*, and Festus *De Verborum Significatu*,[27] and Vat. Lat. 257, containing St. Ephraem Syrus *Sermones*.[28] In the Farfa manuscript the copyist wrote: *Laus Deo. Per me Ormannum Erfordensem finita sunt* (fol. 123^{v}); in the Vatican ms. he wrote: *Hermannus de Erfordia complevit die xvi novembris MCCCCLIII Laudetur Deus amen.* Professor de la Mare has identified the illuminator as an employee of Vespasiano da Bisticci who also illuminated Bodl.1, which is dated 1459.[29] Ged owes its presence at Gdansk to Johannes Bernardinus Bonifacius (1517–97), who was forced by the Inquisition to leave Naples in 1556 and spent the rest of his life travelling, mainly in northern Europe. He collected books during his travels, and in 1558 wrote that his library was at Venice. In 1591 he gave what remained of his library after a ship-wreck to the council of Danzig; Ged was among these books and has remained there ever since.

Use: G—Halm, Baiter, Müller, Reid; γ—Plasberg.

Firenze, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Magliabecchi XXI 30 (= *F*)

Sources: A. Galante, 'Index codicum classicorum latinorum qui Florentiae in Bybliotheca Magliabechiana adservantur', *SIFC* 15 (1907), 145; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xix; Pease, *Nat* 76; Rouse & Rouse, 364; *Texts*, 115; Reynolds, 30 n. 96. Photographs of *Ac1* only; seen 31 March 1978.

Characteristics: paper (watermarks: Briquet 11669–81 and 11702); i + 162 + i fols.; 290 × 204 mm.; 29 lines; Florence?; 3/4 15th cent.; one hand: cursive humanistic; superscript additions by same hand; plain initials in blue and red alternately; quinions; previous shelf-marks: D 27, and D 30.

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[27] Described by V. Jemolo, *Catalogo dei Manoscritti in Scrittura Latina Datati o Databili: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma*, Turin, 1971, I 31–2, and G. Brugnoli, 'Catalogus codicum Farfensium', *Benedictina* 6 (1952), 301–2.

[28] This observation was made by Professor Reeve.

[29] See p. 142.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Fat*, 3. *Ac1* 87^{r}–94^{v}, 4. *Tim*, 5. *Nat.*

Inscription: *M.T. Ciceronis incipit pars quaedam cuiusdam libri Achademicorum librorum.*

Subscription: *Nil plus repperi et credo nil plus reperiatur de libro isto. Laus deo.*

History: Very little is known of F. The watermarks (a cross on a mountain-top) are very common from 1356 onwards, and 11702 comes from Pisa around 1440. Galante does not identify any owners of F before Antonio Magliabecchi (1633–1714).

Use: γ_1—Plasberg (*Maior* only: *raro commemoratus*).

Ged and F form a closely related family within the Florentine branch, and the small number of common readings of secondary origin and complete lack of omissions and additions place them close to the archetype of this branch. Among the fifteen common readings in error are: *fiunt* for *fuit* at 6,23 (10.27), *modo* for *nunc* at 12,43 (18.22), and *probare* for *approbare* at 12,45 (19.15). Ged and F differ from each other, however, in twenty-five significant readings, and it is always Ged which breaks away from the tradition of γ, as follows: *iam vero* for *indocti* at 2,5 (3.5), *id est* om. at 2,8 (4.4), *appellant* for *vocant* at 7,25 (11.18), *variae ortae* for *ortae variae* at 7,26 (12.2), *quae pluris . . . quae minoris* om. at 10,37 (15.30–1), *muniendam* for *inveniendam* at 11,42 (18.9), *at* om. at 12,43 (18.19), and *se scire* for *scire se* at 12,45 (19.11). F is almost certainly the parent of Ged; this discovery means that we do not have to posit any lost manuscripts on this side of the Florentine branch, and it poses the question why Plasberg retained Ged in the apparatus of the *editio minor*, yet passed over F. In addition, if Plasberg's identification of a *genus interpolatum* was based on the seemingly interpolated nature of Ged itself, as the nomenclature of Γ for the archetype alongside γ for Ged suggests, then he is guilty of describing this whole side of the tradition after one of its humblest members.

The source of corrections in Ged remains to be discussed here. Plasberg himself provided a partial answer, when he stated that Ged was corrected *non multo post librarium, plerumque ad exemplar aliquod familiae ω.*[30] Of fifty-three such corrections, twenty, including the striking

[30] Plasberg, *Minor* xix.

addition of <*labor*> at 2,5 (3.6), are found in all the *deteriores*, while a further twenty-four are found in the vast majority of the *deteriores*. The remaining nine corrections, however, point to a more precise source: two present readings which are not found in any other extant manuscripts and seem to be due to the ingenuity of the corrector himself; the other seven corrections consist of some which could reasonably have been made by a scholar with some awareness of Cicero and ancient philosophy, and the following: *nos* for *non* added in the margin at 2,7 (3.25), and *absum tam* for *assumptam* at 4,14 (6.22). *Nos* is found in only four *deteriores*, while *absum tam* appears in the text of four *deteriores* and as a marginal variant in three others. These facts are not convincing in themselves, but they point to an extant manuscript which shows some further proofs that it was the source of many corrections to Ged.

That manuscript is Vat. Chigi H V 147 (Chis); Chis presents readings, both as corrections and in the main body of the text, which were taken from Ged. Furthermore, corrections to Ged appear to be in the same hand as that which wrote Chis. A further point of interest lies in the closeness of the few marginal notes in Ged to some of the more numerous notes in Chis. The presence of more notes in Chis, as well as the fact that F has none, leads me to believe that the notes in Ged were taken from Chis. The notes in Ged appear to be in the hand of the copyist of Chis.

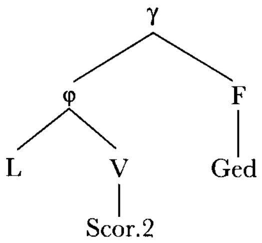
Chis was written at Rome in 1463 in the presence, as it seems, of two exemplars (Ged and another manuscript). It is possible that a third exemplar contained the correction *absum tam*, either in the text or as a correction. The extant manuscripts which contain that reading are almost all Florentine and mostly products of the scriptorium of Vespasiano da Bisticci, for whom, as we have seen, the decorator of Ged worked.

In summary, F was copied around 1450 at Florence, where it appears to have remained ever since. Ged was copied from F about 1459, and found its way to Rome by 1463. It was acquired by Bonifacius at Rome, some time between 1531 and 1556.

Relationship of the Florentine Families

We have now seen some of the evidence for believing that the two Florentine families descend from a common ancestor, γ. The com-

plete lack of omissions and the paucity of other readings in error in both F and φ suggest that they were immediate copies of the archetype of the Florentine branch. The stemma of the whole branch is:



γ was at Florence between the years 1410 and 1460, at least, although it may not have been a Florentine product itself, as we shall see. It probably contained only the *De Fato* and *Academicus Primus*, and the title and subscription of the *Academicus Primus* clearly showed that the true identity of the work and its fragmentariness were recognised.

As far as its textual quality was concerned, γ had thirteen single-word omissions, three single-word additions, and seven transpositions, five of two words and one each of three and four words. The nature of these errors suggests that the copyist of γ edited the text consciously and carefully without the use of another manuscript; therein lies Plasberg's justification for calling the Florentine branch a *genus interpolatum.*

The Relationship of the Italian Branches and the Character of Γ

So far I have more or less faithfully followed Plasberg's division of the Γ tradition into two branches. Each branch introduces errors which mean that neither can be the parent of the other, and the only question which seems to remain is how far each of the branches is removed from Γ. But, at this stage, we must ask the question whether Plasberg was right in believing that MaMuN_1 are descended from Γ through an hyparchetype. Do they form a related group as such, or do they have in common an unmarked state in contrast to the marked errors of γ, with direct descent from Γ?

As we have seen, the argument for accepting that MaMuN_1 form a positively related group beneath Γ relies upon five readings of

secondary origin. But these five readings present distinct problems. Firstly, because of the fragmentariness of N_1, only one of the readings is found in all three prime members of the branch. Secondly, four of the five readings are such that they could reasonably have been corrected in γ without reference to another manuscript. Lastly, the four readings which are found only in MaMu are the same four as could reasonably be explained as having been corrected in γ. These observations raise the possibility that MaMuN_1 individually and γ may be independently descended from Γ. Let us consider the evidence.

The four readings of secondary origin which may have been corrected in γ are: *causa* for *causae* at 3,10 (5.6), <*in*> *id* at 4,16 (7.13), *praestantissimos* for *praestantissimo* at 4,17 (7.28), and *consuetudine* for *consuetudinem* at 4,17 (8.7). These readings seem relatively insignificant: *causa* came about through confusion with the following *est* in the phrase *quid enim causae est* (indeed, in Mu the inflexion and *est* have become conflated into *esse*), and demands correction; the addition of <*in*> in the phrase *nihil se scire nisi* <*in*> *id ipsum* is obviously wrong; *praestantissimos*, although commonly found among the *deteriores* when the preceding *duo* is written *duos* in the phrase *duo autem praestantissimo studio atque doctrina*, is not particularly less preferable than *praestantissimo* and equally any change made in γ should not cause any surprise; finally *consuetudine* is surely due to the omission of the superscript *-m* marker under the influence of the preceding ablatives in the phrase *nulla affirmatione adhibita consuetudinem disserendi reliquerunt*, and once again demands correction.

The transposition of *esse* at 5,21 (9.28–9), however, is a very different matter. MaMuN_1 read *hominem enim censebant quasi partem quandam esse civitatis*, while γ reads *hominem enim esse censebant quasi partem quandam civitatis*. While it is generally γ which strays away from the reading of Γ, mainly because of its interpolations, here it is surely MaMuN_1 which are in error.[31] The source of the discrepancy seems likely to have been the presence of a marginal correction in Γ where *esse* was added, possibly as a correction of *enim*, in such a way that γ placed the correction as an addition after *enim*, and MaMuN_1 all put it after *quandam*. But did MaMuN_1 all present *esse* after *quandam* because they were descended from a hyparchetype of Γ, or did they continue the tradition of Γ, while the transposition was made in γ? If the trans-

[31] A succession of trochees, which would be provided by *esse civitatis*, is not typical of Cicero, as Professor Reeve has pointed out to me.

position was made in γ, then it must have been another interpolation; for γ could not have acquired its reading through contamination with a descendant of P, as P and its descendants do not agree with γ. We shall return to the possibility of a hyparchetype standing between $MaMuN_1$ and Γ; but, for the moment, we should examine the further possibility of relationships between γ and individual members of $MaMuN_1$ as evidence of any direct descent of γ from Γ.

An analysis of agreements in readings of secondary origin between γ and individual members or pairs of the $MaMuN_1$ grouping reveals the following figures:

Mu and γ	11 agreements	MuMa and γ	0 agreement
Ma and γ	1 agreement	MuN_1 and γ	1 agreement
N_1 and γ	2 agreements	MaN_1 and γ	0 agreement

The only agreements which suggest any kind of close relationship are those of Mu and γ. This seemingly impressive number of agreements is less significant than appears at first sight because of the possible contamination of Ma and the fragmentariness of N_1. Where N_1 is deficient, any agreements in error between Mu and γ are accentuated by the possible contamination of Ma; the readings presented by Mu and γ in this case are likely to be the received readings of Γ. Such a possibility removes from consideration six of the agreements between Mu and γ. Of the remainder, two are corrected by the copyist of Mu himself, where there may have been a problem in the exemplar:

1,3 (2.5)	*tamen* om. γ: added above Mu
(2.14)	*hoc genus* γ: *hoc* added above Mu: *genus hoc* Ma

two are probably orthographic:

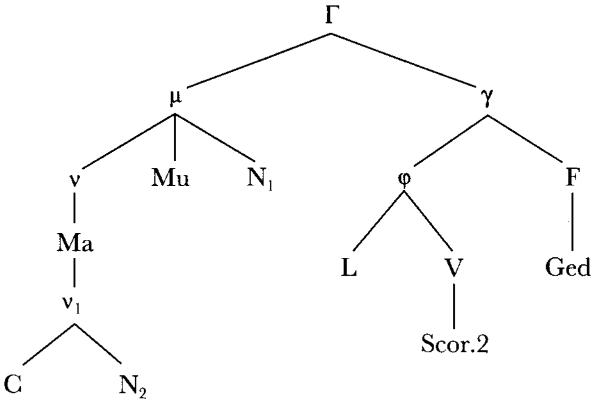
12,43 (18.25)	*dissidium* γ Mu: *desidium* CN_2N_1
12,45 (19.24)	*ascensio* γ Mu: *assensio* CN_2N_1

and the last is far from compelling, when γ and Mu omit *in* at 9,34 (15.3), where it seems quite likely that the copyist of Mu consciously omitted the second *in* in the phrase *quae posita est in virtute et in moribus* as an unnecessary reduplication. Moreover, in eight of the agreements between Mu and γ, N_1 is lacking, and in a further two Ma

is also lacking and is represented by CN_2. On the small amount of evidence available, therefore, we cannot conclude that γ is more closely related to $MaMuN_1$ than through Γ. There is certainly no question of γ being descended from one of the $MaMuN_1$ manuscripts or vice versa.

At this point another possibility presents itself: that it could be γ, and not Ma, which was contaminated from within the P group, possibly by ω. The textual implications of such a hypothesis are as follows: agreement between γ and $MaMuN_1$ against P is due to the descent of γ from Γ; agreement between γ and P is due to contamination; γ could not present the reading of the archetype against the agreement of $PMaMuN_1$. While γ reveals clearly, as we have seen, that it is basically a member of the Γ tradition, it nowhere agrees in error with P against $MaMuN_1$, except in the partial agreement at 5,21 (9.28–9), and Plasberg at least never presents in his text the reading of γ alone against the rest of the tradition. Similarly the agreement in error of γ with Mu (and N_1, where present) against MaP on six occasions argues that it is Ma, and not γ, which was contaminated by ω. The only support for such a theory comes from several extra-textual factors: the title of the *Academicus Primus* is given with some degree of accuracy only in γ and Conv at this level of the stemma, and the possibility of two-way contamination between γ and ω is more elegant than the more complex interactions necessitated by contamination of Ma by ω, and of γ by ω; finally γ and ω were both at Florence at the beginning of the 15th century. While it is possible that identification of the work in both γ and ω was due to contact at Florence between their copyists, the internal evidence seems to exclude the possibility of contamination of γ by ω.

In reaching a decision on the stemma beneath Γ, we have to evaluate the importance of five readings which are found in $MaMuN_1$ (or in MaMu where N_1 is lacking). While four of them could reasonably have been corrected in γ, if $MaMuN_1$ and γ are all descended independently from Γ, the fifth simply could not. In the case of the first four readings γ agrees with the P tradition, but in the last $MaMuN_1$ and γ both present a different text from P. But, at the same time, the reading presented in γ is considerably closer to P than is that of $MaMuN_1$, and argues for the necessity of positing a hyparchetype (μ) between $MaMuN_1$ and Γ. It seems to me that the view of Plasberg is correct and that the more likely stemma is as follows:



Γ was written with two columns per page,[32] and contained the *De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus*, at least, as in P. It is unclear whether the *Academicus Primus* was correctly identified.[33] It is likely that Γ or a descendant was available to Dante at Bologna in 1304–07, for there is no evidence to suggest that the only member of the French tradition to travel to Italy (ω) arrived at Florence before the late 14th century. Bologna was the cultural centre of Emilia, with a demand fostered by its university and a supply ensured by monastic and cathedral libraries. Emilia has been described as a large depository of books which had been brought from France and Germany during the 9th–13th centuries;[34] during this period the Italian economy improved, while France, in particular, suffered from the effects of war. The copies of μ all come from north-east Italy (Bologna, Padua or Venice), so perhaps Γ is further evidence of the prehumanistic renaissance there in the early 14th century. Petrarch seems to have obtained his first copy of the *Academicus Primus* from Naples in 1343, so perhaps we should posit the movement to Naples of a copy of μ from Padua. And yet, Ma, which was written at Bologna or Padua in the last quarter of the 14th century, shows signs both of

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[32] If my reconstruction of the cause of the misplaced *esse* at 5,21 (9.28–9) is correct, then Γ contained lines of the length of *censebant quasi partem quandam*, which would fill one of two columns per page.

[33] *Ac1* was not identified in Mu; its identification in Ma may be owed to Petrarch; it was identified in γ, but γ is relatively late, and it may be due to Florentine ingenuity, the presence at Florence of descendants of γ which correctly identified *Ac1*, or the influence of Petrarch.

[34] By G. Billanovich, *I primi umanisti e le tradizioni dei classici latini*, Fribourg, 1953, 5–10.

contamination with ω and of having been copied from a manuscript of Petrarch. Petrarch seems to play a central role, bringing together manuscripts of both the French and Italian traditions of the *Academicus Primus*. Moreover, he appears to have been involved in a curious triangle which started and ended at Padua, by way of Naples and Florence. The other copy of Γ, γ, was contaminated by ω at Florence before Conv was copied in 1406. Whether it was copied at Padua or Florence we have no means of telling.

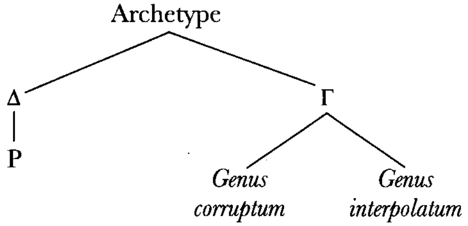
CHAPTER SIX

THE ARCHETYPE

Despite the warning sounded by Pasquali[1] against the assumption that every classical work has been handed down to us through an archetype other than the copy written or dictated by the author himself, we are surely justified in positing one in the case of the *Academici Libri*; for it would require an extraordinary coincidence otherwise to explain how it is that the text breaks off uniformly in the extant manuscripts at *fuit facultate*, with or without *et to*, at 12,46 (20.9), when we know that the work originally consisted of four books, and passages from the lost portion were quoted by authors of Late Antiquity. So we are justified in relating Γ to Δ.

THE HYPARCHETYPES Γ AND Δ

Plasberg, as we have seen, reconstructed the archetype from the following stemma:



He was of the opinion that neither Γ nor Δ, both of which were written no later than the 12th century, was to be preferred over the other, and that they were both drawn from a common archetype. Both Γ and Δ were copied carelessly from an archetype which had been carelessly written and then corrected against its exemplar. Yet, in spite of its descent through the hyparchetype Δ, Plasberg drew

[1] G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Florence, 1971, 15.

attention to the fact that, when Γ and Δ disagree, P shows signs of having been corrected in such a way that it can sometimes be seen, and sometimes conjectured, that P originally presented the same reading as that found in Γ. This hint of some connection between P and Γ other than through Δ, plus our own finding that P is the ancestor of all extant members of the Δ tradition poses the question whether there is need for an intermediary between P and the archetype.

Γ and Δ disagree in over a hundred readings; such a large number of differences is particularly distinctive in such a short text as what remains of the *Academicus Primus*. In his editions Plasberg shows no regular preference for either Γ or Δ; where P and Γ differ, he follows Γ in seventy-five readings and Δ in forty-four. While some of Plasberg's decisions on what constituted the text of the archetype may be disputed, it seems fairly certain that neither Γ nor Δ could be descended from the other, but that they descend independently from the archetype. The bald statistics suggest that Γ may have been closer to the archetype than was Δ and may justify the imposition of Δ above P; the number and type of disagreements between Γ and Δ suggest that Δ was negligently written, viz. the large number of omissions, but also interpolated or corrected, viz. the larger number of additions; Γ, on the other hand, shows fewer divergences from the archetype, except in transpositions of a superficial nature, suggesting that Γ was lightly interpolated.

The vast majority of apparent errors in both Γ and Δ may be explained on mechanical grounds in the copying process. The only exceptions seem to be:

3,10 (5.11)	*ut illi Aeschinem* P: *fuerint Aeschylum* Γ
3,11 (5.15)	*autem* P: *Varro* Γ
12,45 (19.21)	*dies iam* P: *disserens de sua* Γ

Even in this list the appearance of *Aeschinem* for *Aeschylum* in P is understandable in mechanical terms as the erroneous substitution of a more familiar name in a forensic context, or conversely as a correction in Γ, since the name is followed by *Sophoclem Euripidem*, and there are common elements in *dies* and *disserens*. Confusion between *autem* and *Varro*, apart from a similarity in length, is hard to imagine, and even the similarity in length would disappear if abbreviation were employed. *Ut illi* and *fuerint* would both consist of seven minims if the latter were abbreviated, and the confusion would be

particularly likely to occur with an archetype written in gothic script; but here another factor comes into play. The whole phrase *si ut illi Eschinem Sophoclem Euripidem* is written *in rasura* in P. This brings us to the second factor in the reconstruction of the archetype and the stemma of the *Academicus Primus*: the only way in which P and Γ could have any other relationship than that of independent descent from a common archetype would be if either one of them had been amended in some way. P could fit this description.

In addition to marginal and superscript corrections and variant readings, there are about fifty places in the text of the *Academicus Primus* where an erasure has been made in P and fresh text written over it. Moreover, twelve of the erasures coincide with passages where P and Γ present different readings:

		P	Γ	P *in rasura*
2,8	(4.5)	*rivulos quam*	*quam rivulos*	*quam*
3,10	(5.4)	*da mihi nunc satisne*	*ea mihi non sane*	*nunc*
3,10	(5.11–12)	*ut illi Aeschinem*	*fuerint Aeschylum*	*si ut illi Aeschinem Sophoclem Euripidem*
3,12	(6.1)	*Grecia*	*Greca*	*Grecia*
4,17	(8.6)	*dubitationem*	*dubitantem*	*-tationem*
4,17	(8.8)	*<disserendi>*		*disserendi*
6,24	(11.9)	*dabitis*	*habitis*	*dabitis*
8,30	(13.16)		*non* om.	*tamen non*
10,36	(15.27)	*dignanda*	*dignando*	*-a*
11,41	(17.17–18)	*alio* om.		*quonam enim modo captalempton diceres sed*
11,42	(18.3)		*quod* om.	*quod*
12,46	(20.3)	*perducta*	*producta* MN *perducta* FLV	*per-*

Plasberg drew attention to the erasures in P and observed that they sometimes coincide with disagreements between P and Γ. He stated that the original readings could occasionally be discerned as showing traces of the reading found in Γ.

Not all the erasures which coincide with textual differences between P and Γ are necessarily significant; some occur where no textual problems have arisen. But most of them suggest that the text of P was originally closer to Γ than it is today. Before I was able to study P under an ultra-violet light, I wondered whether it might prove to be the parent of Γ and thus the archetype of the *Academicus Primus*;

but this idea is refuted by the fact that thirty-eight erasures in P do not coincide with any textual problems and, more significantly, because every textual difference between P and Γ, where P is probably in error, does not correspond with an erasure in P. Indeed several 'erasures' appear to have been made before the text was written over them; P is not a palimpsest, so perhaps it was prepared with particular care to remove any surface imperfections and allow writing to take place unhindered.

The significant erasures, as well as some visible corrections such as *maius* to *magis* at 7,25 (11.25), *docere* to *doce* at 12,43 (18.24), and the deletion of *que* at 10,38 (16.7), raise the question how close P was to the archetype. Textual problems in P could have originated through contamination (but not, for the most part, with a member of the Γ tradition), through conscious interpolation, or because the archetype or hyparchetype itself was unclear. If we exclude the readings where erasures coincide with textual problems, P shows sixty-seven readings in error, according to Plasberg; Γ, on the other hand, shows forty-seven such readings in error. A 50% difference in error rate between the two witnesses to the archetype may be accounted for by the fact that P is the sole witness to the Δ tradition, whereas the quality of Γ is smoothed out by its reconstruction from two hyparchetypes, which are, in turn, reconstructed from six (and, in places, seven) extant witnesses.

The final factor in this re-examination involves the position of *esse* at 5,21 (9.28–9). Interestingly, this is the only portion of text where P and the two halves of the Γ tradition present different readings, enabling us to glimpse their relationships to one another and to the archetype. We have already established that Γ presented the following reading and marginal correction here:

> *. . . hominem enim*
> *censebant quasi partem quandam*^{esse}
> *civitatis . . .*

P reads *hominem esse censebant quasi partem quandam civitatis*, omitting *enim*. The disagreement of P and Γ appears to stem from either a correction of *enim* to *esse* or the omission of *enim* by chance or otherwise in P, or the correction of *enim* to *esse* in Γ and its subsequent confusion as an addition to the text. But was it P or Γ which broke away from the reading of the archetype at this point? If it was P,

then the archetype presumably was identical to Γ, for it seems unlikely that P can be a descendant of Γ, as we have seen. This would require the unlikely coincidence that both the archetype and Γ read *esse* as a marginal addition, which the copyist of P understood as a correction of the in-line *enim.* If, on the other hand, it was in Γ that the change was made, then the archetype simply read *hominem esse censebant etc.*, as in P. The key to solving this problem lies in establishing what was the probable text of the archetype.

It seems fairly certain that the marginal *esse* was originally part of the text, while *enim* is less essential; Plasberg includes it, but Reid excludes it as a *correctio et manifesta et mala*, since it is presented only by Ged among the manuscripts which he reported, and he considered Ged to be 'largely interpolated and corrected by its copyist'.[2]

Nowhere else in Cicero's philosophical works or speeches does *enim* occur immediately after *hominem* (or *neminem*), probably because it would offend against principles of euphony and rhythm. I believe that *enim* was written in the text of Γ in error for *esse*, under the influence of the inflection of the preceding *hominem*, and that Γ was then corrected from the exemplar with the marginal *esse*, but *enim* was not deleted. P thus presents the reading found in the archetype.

We have now examined in some detail the factors which are relevant in helping us to determine the stemma over which the archetype presides, and may draw some conclusions. The most important factor is the obvious division of extant manuscripts into two families, sired by P and Γ. This division is capable of handling both the presence of *rasurae* in P and the reading at 5,21 (9.28–9) more simply and effectively than any other stemma. As an example of this, we may consider the possibility that Ma, which shows several striking agreements with the P-tradition, could be independently descended from the archetype in an open recension, agreeing now with P and now with Γ. But such a stemma would not explain the presence in Ma, on the one hand, and MuN_1, descendants of Γ, on the other hand, but not in γ, equally a descendant of Γ, of such an improbable reading as *hominem enim censebant quasi partem quandam esse civitatis.*

The distribution of apparent errors in P and Γ, given that one is a sole representative but the other is a reconstruction of two

[2] Reid, 120.

hyparchetypes and several extant manuscripts, suggests that they may be at a similar level of descent from the archetype, and the presence of erasures in P may be significant in this respect. But information from outside the tradition of the *Academicus Primus* has the last word on this matter.

The evidence of P and Γ argues for an archetype consisting of the *De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus*, for such are the reconstructed contents of seven-eighths of the tradition: the *De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus* are found in P, and are the reconstructed contents of μ and of one half of the γ tradition, represented by F; only in φ does the *De Fato*, instead of the *De Finibus*, accompany the *Academicus Primus*. The reconstruction of these contents is supported by the earliest reference which we have to a manuscript containing the *Academicus Primus*. This reference occurs in an inventory, made between 1142 and 1164, of books given to the Benedictine abbey of Bec in Normandy by Philippe de Harcourt, Bishop of Bayeux (d. 1163):[3]

> *64. In alio* [sc. *volumine*] *Pomponius Mela de cosmographia et Tullius de fine boni et mali et de academicis et Timaeus Platonis ab ipso Tullio translatus et Tullius de particione oratoria et liber Candidi Ariani ad Victorinum de generatione divina et Hilarius de sinodis et eiusdem liber contra Valentem et Auxencium.*

The identification of *de academicis* as the *Academicus Primus* and not the *Lucullus* is justified because the *Lucullus* was generally called the *Hortensius* or *De Laude Philosophiae* at that time. Neither Philippe's book nor any other containing this sequence of works, or even these works of Cicero is extant.[4]

If we were restricted to the evidence provided by the *Academicus Primus* alone in reconstructing its archetype, we should be able to make only a few, tentative observations. As it is, the *Academicus Primus* participates in a corner of the tradition of the *De Finibus* and it is this work which enables us to gain a fuller picture.

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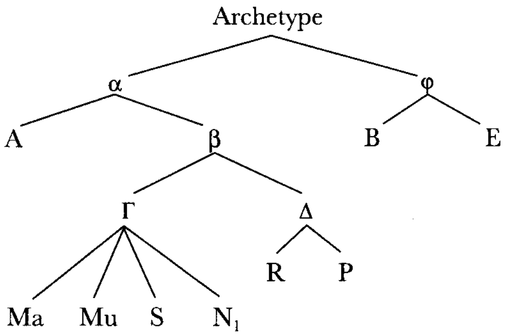
[3] This inventory is found in Avranches, Bibl. Municipale, 159 (1942). A large number of manuscripts at Avranches came from Mont-Saint-Michel.

[4] Maslowski & Rouse, 122, pointed out that the works of Hilary of Poitiers and Pomponius Mela are found in Vendôme, Bibl. Municipale, 189, a 12th- or 13th-century manuscript, which may be a copy of Philippe's book.

The *De Finibus* and the *Academicus Primus*

It is probably true to say that the *Academicus Primus* owes its survival to the *De Finibus*; its tradition maps on to that of the *De Finibus*. The two works were clearly isolated from most of Cicero's other philosophical works by the mid-9th century, if not earlier, for they do not appear in the so-called Leiden corpus or among the excerpts made by Hadoard at Corbie. Neither do they feature in the *Florilegium Gallicum*, which was gathered in northern France during the 12th century.

In the latest and most comprehensive study of the manuscripts of the *De Finibus*, Reynolds produces the following stemma:[5]



In this stemma, B (Vatican Pal. Lat. 1525) and E (Erlangen, Univ. Bibl. 618 (847) represent a late German family; A (Vatican, Pal. Lat. 1513) is another German manuscript of the 11th century. Γ is an Italian tradition, represented by two 14th-century manuscripts which also contain the *Academicus Primus* (MaMu), and S (Firenze, Archivio di Stato, Carte Strozziane ser. 3 no. 46), which presents only the *De Finibus* and was written in the third quarter of the 14th century. The main differences between the stemmata of the *Academicus Primus* and the *De Finibus* lie in the closeness of Ma to Mu against N_1, which we have already discussed,[6] and in the presence in the latter of R (Leiden, Gronovius 21), which descends from the same exemplar as P.

R is a French manuscript in six parts and includes the *De Finibus*, written in the late 12th century, and *Timaeus*, but not the *Academicus*

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[5] Reynolds, 2; I have used my *sigla* rather than Reynolds': Γ for γ, Δ for δ, Ma for M, and Mu for O.

[6] See p. 85. N_1 is not included in Reynolds' published stemma.

Primus. In view of the presence of the *Academicus Primus* in Γ and P, but not in ABE, we must assume that it was joined to the *De Finibus* in β, which becomes the archetype of the *Academicus Primus*, at some time during the 11th or 12th century. Thus, the relationship of R to P confirms the need for Δ between the archetype of the *Academicus Primus* and P.

This stemma sees the source of the *De Finibus* in Germany. While ABE remained there, β travelled to France, where Δ, certainly, was written. Γ, however, is represented only by Italian manuscripts; but economy of movement demands that it surely was also French.[7] If the *Academicus Primus* was added to β, then it must have been added in France, for there is no evidence of the text in Germany.

Given this stemma, the Bec manuscript could be β, Γ, Δ, or a non-extant descendant of any of them. But, while the Bec manuscript identified the *Academicus Primus* correctly, the 12th-century descendants of Δ which present that work called it a sixth book of the *De Finibus* and most of the descendants of Γ did not identify it at all, and it is only in 15th-century copies that the correct identification is made, possibly through Florentine ingenuity. The only possibility to which there are no objections is that the Bec manuscript is a descendant of β. This conclusion accords with the date of the Bec inventory, but we cannot be categorical. Indeed, confusion over the title of the *Academicus Primus* and of the *De Finibus* is a feature of the early tradition.

Firstly, the *Biblionomia* of Richard de Fournival (d. 1260) contains the entry:[8]

> 75. *Eiusdem* [sc. *Ciceronis*] *liber achademicarum disputationum in quo ostendit quod genus phylozophizandi arbitrandum sit minime et arrogans maximeque et constans et elegans. Item eiusdem liber de universalitate, qui vocatur Thimeus Tullii. In uno volumine.*

The description of the *achademicae disputationes* is drawn almost verbatim from *De Divinatione* II 1,1. (The *De Divinatione* and *De Fato* make up the preceding volume, no. 74, in the *Biblionomia*. Similarly, the *Lucullus*, no. 76 in the list, is described in the same terms as

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[7] Rouse & Rouse, 344–51, related the Bec manuscript to the Γ tradition and thus fixed Γ in France.

[8] Delisle, II 529.

Cicero used for his description of the *Hortensius*, with which it was usually confused.) On the surface, we appear to have a manuscript which contains only the *Academicus Primus* and *Timaeus*—a rather thin volume!

Fournival's library, except for the medical books, passed to the Collège de Sorbonne in 1272, by way of the bequest of Gérard d'Abbeville, a friend of Robert de Sorbon, and canon of Amiens, like Fournival. A second reference to this book, which clarifies the former reference, is supplied by the catalogue of the Sorbonne library, compiled ca. 1321–30:[9]

> P. 1. *Disputationes Tullii vel liber Achademicorum eiusdem. 'Non eram nescius Brute.'*
> P. 1. *Thymeus eiusdem de universitate. 'Multa sunt a nobis et in achademicis scripta.'*

Here we are left in no doubt that the manuscript contained the *De Finibus* and *Timaeus* without the *Academicus Primus*.[10]

Secondly, two closely related copies of R, El Escorial, R.I.2[11] and Venezia, Bibl. Marciana, Lat. VI 81, both originally identified the *De Finibus* as the *Academicus Primus*. In the former, the title originally read:

> *Incipit liber de achademicarum tullii in quo ostenditur quod genus philosophandi arbitrandum sit minime arrogans maximeque et constans et elegans ut habetur in principio secundi de diuinatione.*
>
> (fol. 139r)

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[9] Delisle, III 87.

[10] Even so, Rouse & Rouse were of the opinion that these references masked the presence of *Ac1* as well, despite finding a third reference, 349–50, where the mistaken identity of *Fin* as *liber achademicorum* no longer persists, and there is no question of *Ac1* forming part of the manuscript. The reference appears in a list compiled by a Sorbonnist, Thomas of Ireland, and appended to his *Manipulus Florum*, which was completed in 1306:

> [7] *Dispositiones eiusdem* [sc. *Tullii*] *lib. V. Principium: 'Non eram nescius Brute'. Finis: 'perreximus omnes'.*
>
> . . .
>
> [9] *De universalitate. Principium: 'Multa sunt a nobis'. Finis: 'neque dabitur', vel non est finis.*

Here *Fin* and *Tim* are separated by *Nat.*

[11] This manuscript was no. 827 in the library of Pope Benedict XIII (the owner of Leid; see p. 57) at Avignon and later at Peñiscola and had previously belonged to Pope Clement VI (1292–1352), formerly Archbishop of Rouen.

The initial *de* was underscored to denote deletion, and a later hand has struck out *de achademicarum* and written above it *de finibus bonorum et malorum.*

Finally, as we have seen, Bacon consistently referred to a book of the *De Finibus* as one of the *Academici Libri* in writing his *Moralis Philosophia* at Paris around 1260. All of these factors suggest that there was confusion over the identity of the *De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus* in the Paris region during the late 12th and 13th centuries in the vicinity of Δ.

The Archetype

We may accept with confidence that the *Academicus Primus* survived in France. There it was joined to a text of the *De Finibus* which had come from Germany. Although the *Timaeus* features in several early references, it did not participate in the tradition of the *De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus*, but belongs to the Leiden corpus. Nevertheless, the presence of the *Timaeus* in the Bec manuscript suggests that the three works were not far removed from one another during the 12th century.

The text of the *Academicus Primus* filled a complete gathering, and was written in two columns. From the presence in P and Γ of such alternative readings as *ut illi* and *fuerint, mirentur* and *imitentur*, and *Athetus* and *Athenis*, as well as general confusion of *enim* and *eum*, all of which consist of a high proportion of minims, we may surmise that the archetype was written in gothic script. The gothic movement finds its earliest examples towards the middle of the 12th century, so that it seems likely that the archetype antedated P and Amst by a few decades only at the most and must have been written close in time to the manuscript at Bec.

It is certain that the *Academicus Primus* was already fragmentary by the mid-12th century, but perhaps it had only recently become so; for the presence in the text of an incomplete catchword in one half of the tradition surely indicates that the remainder of the text had only recently been lost. *Et to* is so meaningless that it is much more likely to have been omitted from P than to have been inserted in Γ. Catchwords made their first appearance in France in the 11th century.[12] It is unlikely that a manuscript containing only what is

[12] B. Bischoff, *Latin Paleography*, Cambridge, 1990, 23.

left of the *Academici Libri* would be viable (there is no such example among the extant manuscripts of the work); perhaps that is why it was added to the *De Finibus* in the first place, particularly as its construction suggests a logical progression to the *Academicus Primus*:

De Finibus I	Exposition of Epicurean doctrine by Torquatus
De Finibus II	Refutation of Epicureanism by Cicero
De Finibus III	Exposition of Stoic ethical doctrine by Cato
De Finibus IV	Refutation of Stoicism from Antiochus' standpoint by Cicero
De Finibus V	Exposition of ethical system of Antiochus by Piso
Academicus Primus	Exposition of Antiochus' doctrine by Varro

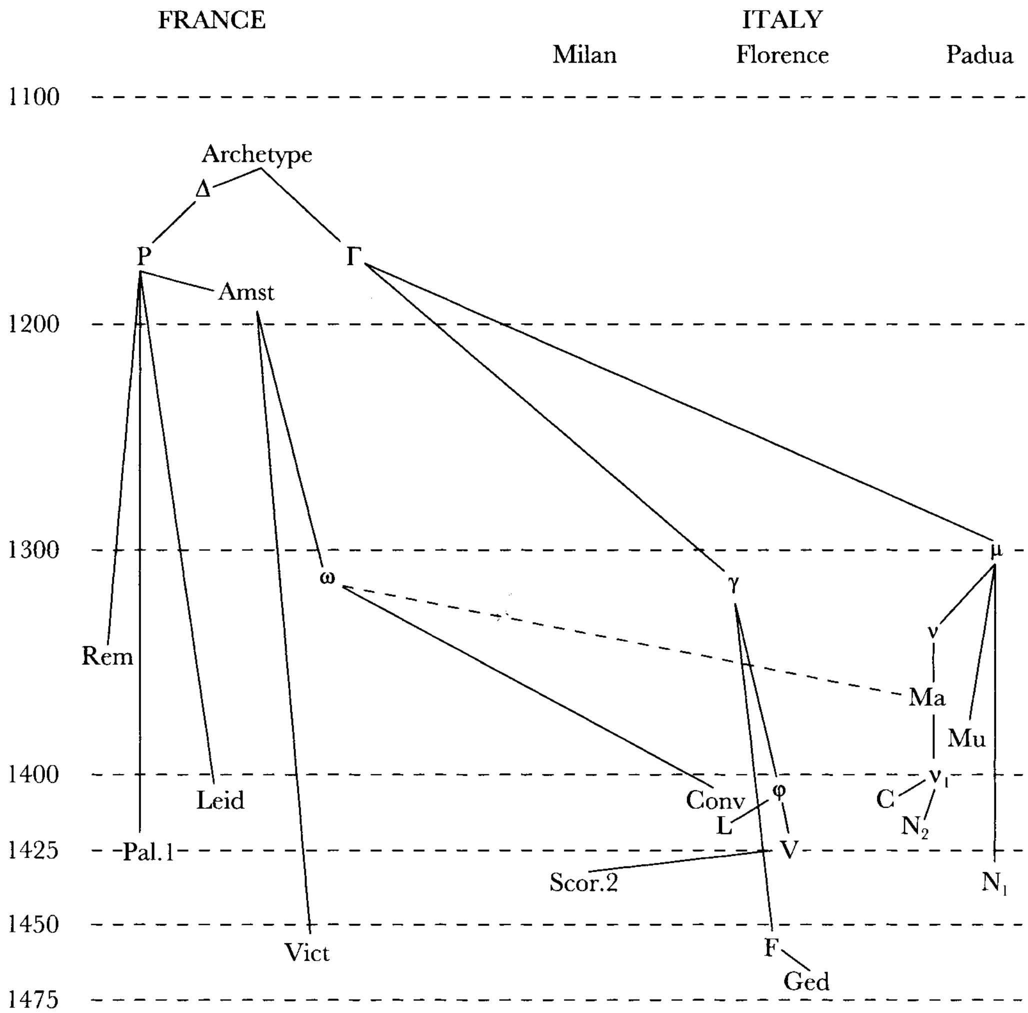
In this scheme, the *Academicus Primus* was clearly identified as a separate work from the *De Finibus*, as in the Bec catalogue; and yet, the Δ tradition confused it as a sixth book, in spite of the clear statement in *De Divinatione* II 1 that the *De Finibus* consisted of five books. It seems unlikely that the *Academicus Primus* survived because it was mistaken as a sixth book of the *De Finibus*, as in P. Indeed, it is quite likely that such a mistaken identity first appeared in P, for, while every page of the *De Finibus* in P bears the Roman numeral of the appropriate book of the work in the top margin, no such number is found above the text of the *Academicus Primus*. Furthermore, while books of the *De Finibus* in P are generally introduced by a two-line rubric or two blank lines, the *Academicus Primus* starts at the top of a verso folio with a coloured initial.

So, it becomes likely that the *Academici Libri* may have survived in their entirety into the 12th century in the immediately pre-archetype stage. Masłowski and Rouse indicate that works which are now lost were still in existence in the 12th century along the Loire valley.[13] Perhaps this is another example of 'the many texts that emanated from the ninth-century abbeys of the Loire and that were disseminated via Orléans and Chartres in the twelfth century'.[14] Or, in the light of the Bec manuscript, perhaps we should look to Mont-Saint-Michel. While it has not proved possible to pursue the archetype of

[13] Maslowski & Rouse, 122.

[14] Maslowski & Rouse, 122, suggest specifically that Orléans was probably the source for *Fin* and *Ac1*; this is a more attractive proposition than Chartres, whose Bishop, John of Salisbury, relied on Augustine for a quotation from *Ac1*, as we have seen (see p. 27 n. 32).

The high-level stemma of the *Academicus Primus*



the *Academicus Primus* back beyond the 12th century, we have at least collected more information to show how important that century was in preserving classical texts.[15]

[15] Rouse & Rouse, 367.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE *DETERIORES*

Plasberg identified a large group of mainly Italian manuscripts, now over fifty in number, which descend from P or a similar source, and date from the 15th century.[1] These manuscripts, which he called *deteriores*, stand on the P side of the tradition, but present some readings which show unmistakable contamination with a member of the Γ tradition. Analysis of Plasberg's own critical apparatus reveals that the *deteriores* are particularly close to Amst beneath P, and a descendant of Amst (Conv) both presents the characteristic readings of the *deteriores* and shows how some of them came about.[2] The affinity of Conv to the *deteriores* is shown by the following agreements:

		Amst	Conv	*Deteriores*
2,5	(3.2)	*etiam*	*et*	*et*
	(3.6)		<*labor*>	<*labor*>
2,6	(3.12)	*cum*	*cum* deleted	*cum* omitted
4,13	(6.18)	*putarent*	*putarunt*	*putarunt*
4,18	(8.15)	*fugiendarum*	*fugiendarum*, -*que* added in margin	*fugiendarumque*
6,22	(10.15)	*etiam*	*et*	*et*
6,23	(10.22)	*magnorum*	*magnorum*<*que*>	*magnorum*<*que*>
7,26	(11.31)	*erit*	*est*	*est*
7,28	(12.24)	*introque*	*in utroque*	*in utroque*
8,30	(13.20–1)	*appellant*	*appellant*, -*ba*- added above	*appellabant*
8,32	(14.10)	*dialecticae*	*dialectica*	*dialectica*
10,38	(16.10)	*hic . . . disserebat* in text	*hic . . . disserebat* omitted	*hic . . . disserebat* omitted
12,44	(18.29)	*quidem mihi*	*mihi quidem*	*mihi quidem*

[1] Plasberg, *Minor* xvii.
[2] See Hunt, *Origin* 39–42.

The corrections at 2,6 (3.12), 4,18 (8.15), and 8,30 (13.20–1) represent the stage at which the text of the *deteriores* changed direction and are convincing evidence that Conv is their archetype. But Conv does not show all the characteristics of the *deteriores* in process of development, and we have already seen evidence for the descent of Conv from Amst through an unknown intermediary; we must conclude that the characteristic readings of the *deteriores* which appear as unadulterated text in Conv for the first time originated in that intermediary (ω). Thus Plasberg's use of a Greek symbol to represent the source of the *deteriores* is still tenable, although not necessary for textual purposes, but his location of Conv among the *deteriores* is deceptive.

The evidence for believing that Conv (or ω) was contaminated by a descendant of Γ has already been presented.[3] By a process of elimination we may identify with some accuracy the source of this contamination. At 8,30 (13.20–1), for example, Ged reads *appellant* against *appellabant* of Γ, and at 10,36 (15.26–7) Ma presents *estimatione* against *extimatione* of Γ. At 2,8 (4.17) V and Scor.2, parent and child, read *volumus* against *voluimus* of Γ. In all these examples Conv simply presents the reading found in Γ, but at two places Conv presents a reading of secondary origin which is found in a limited number of descendants of Γ: at 3,9 (4.23) Conv agrees with F, Ged, and the corrector of Mu in reading *sacerdotem* against *sacerdotum* of Γ, and at 3,10 (5.3) Conv reads *hoc* with C and γ (F Ged L V Scor.2) against *haec*, which is found in Γ and P. The only extant member of the Γ tradition which agrees with Conv, in error or otherwise, in all these readings is F; but F was not written until the third quarter of the 15th century, while the colophon of Conv bears the date 1406. Thus it could not have been F itself which was consulted; unless more than one member of the Γ family was used, which I consider unlikely, it can only have been the parent of F which was the contaminating agent, or some lost descendant of γ, the originator of the *genus interpolatum*.

It may seem surprising that the source of contamination was not Ma, or a relative; for Ma was itself contaminated probably by the parent of Conv, as we have seen.[4] Two-way contamination between the parent of Conv and Ma would have provided a simple solution

[3] See p. 64.
[4] See pp. 78–9.

to the problem, but would have created some geographical difficulties; for there is no evidence to suggest that Ma ever left north-east Italy by the time that Conv was written, while the immediate descendants of γ were all written at Florence, as was Conv. It seems likely, therefore, that ω arrived in Italy late in the 14th century, passing through Padua or Bologna, where it was used to contaminate the parent of Ma, and settling at Florence, where it was contaminated by γ before Conv was produced in 1406.

The descendants of Conv, which constitute the *deteriores*, were divided by Plasberg into eight families (α β δ ε ζ η θ κ) and a group of *incerti*, manuscripts which he was unable to place in one of the families. In the critical apparatus of his larger edition he cited the readings of families of the *deteriores* and even of single manuscripts where they presented a novel reading against the tradition of P and Γ, but in the smaller edition he denoted the source of such readings among the *deteriores* by the symbols χ, where one or more families among the *deteriores* presented the reading, and ς, where one or more manuscripts from different families did so. As more manuscripts have come to light and the availability of microfilm and photocopies has rendered the study of manuscripts more feasible, I have found that Plasberg's division still holds good in general; some *incerti* can now be apportioned to identified families, Conv has been removed from among the *deteriores*, and the relationships of the families of the *deteriores* have become clear, but Plasberg remains a good base for study of the tradition of the *Academicus Primus*.

The way in which Conv spawned the many groups of the *deteriores* serves as an indication of the importance of Corbinelli's collection in the transmission of classical texts. Blum's contention that Corbinelli's library was little known to contemporary humanists will surely be rectified eventually, as the stemmatic relationships of his manuscripts are studied.[5] It has already been established, from Corbinelli's wills, contemporary letters, and Vespasiano's *Vite*, that Corbinelli counted among his friends and acquaintances such people as Niccolò Niccoli, Giovanni Aurispa, Guarino's Venetian pupil Francesco Barbaro, and Poggio Bracciolini. The evidence of Corbinelli's copy of the *Academicus Primus* will add further names to the circle.

[5] Blum, 44. Indeed, for *Fin*, Reynolds, 29, confirms that Conv 'appears to have generated a large proportion of the vulgate texts, a good third perhaps, and there are many more which show clear signs of having been influenced by it'.

Despite Corbinelli's departure from his native Florence in 1424 and his death at Rome in 1425, there is no evidence that Conv ever left Florence. It was there from 1406, when it was written, at least until Corbinelli's departure, and it had entered the Badia at Florence by 1439. Furthermore, such copies of Conv as can be dated with any accuracy seem to have been made before Corbinelli went to Rome, and it is likely that all copies of Conv were made at Florence. The *deteriores* divide into two categories: those which belong to groups which descend independently from Conv, and those which form larger groups of more distantly-related descendants. The former groups are typically less marked in their variations from the text of Conv and tend to be Florentine in origin, while the latter lack their archetypes and come from elsewhere.

1. Independent Descendants of Conv

a. *From Ognibene Scola to Poggio*

The three members of Plasberg's ζ demonstrate the personal level on which texts were disseminated, and account for the migration of the *Academicus Primus* from Florence to Rome by 1425, with a great impact on the subsequent history of the text.[6] The distinctive readings of the family are:

1,3 (2.13)	*sit* om.
2,7 (3.21)	*potest* for *possit*
4,17 (7.30)	*Strageritem* for *Stagiritem*
(8.4)	*uberitate* for *ubertate*
4,18 (8.13)	*mihi* om.
6,24 (11.10)	*diu* om.
7,25 (11.17)	*consuetudo* om.
7,29 (13.6–7)	*caelestia . . . homines* om.
10,38 (16.11)	*modo* om.
11,42 (18.3)	*illi* om.
12,43 (18.19–20)	*correptionem* for *correctionem*

[6] Oxford, Lincoln College, Lat. 38 is not included here, as Plasberg was clearly wrong in assigning it to this family.

Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 76,4 (= *Laur.1*)

Sources: Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca* I 390; Bandini, *Cat Med* III 88; Deschamps, 127; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Hunt, 40; Reynolds, 30 n. 96. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 31 March 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 111 + ii fols.; 254 × 182 mm.; 26 lines; Florence; ca. 1410; one hand: formal humanist; marginal additions by same hand; names and topics in margin by first and another hand; orange initials with white vine-stems and sections in red, blue, green and violet; catchwords; quaternions.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 102^{v}–111^{v}.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM DE ACADEMICIS.* (The last two words have been crossed out and *De Philosophia* has been added by a later hand.)

Subscription: *Non reperitur plus.*

Colophon: (102^{r}) *Absolvit Stephanus Bonitius Omnibono Scholae.* (A later hand has added *Amen* before the colophon.)

History: Bandini believed that Laur.1 and Conv were written by the same copyist. Ognibene Scola (1370–1429) studied at Padua with Guarino under Giovanni Conversini during the 1390s, and possibly at Florence under Chrysoloras in 1398–9, although this is doubted by R. Cessi, 'Nuove ricerche su Ognibene Scola', *Archivio Storico Lombardo* 11 (1909), 95, and by G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo: Manuele Crisolora*, Florence, 1941, 68; he was certainly at Florence in 1404, but generally lived at Padua. In addition to Guarino, he numbered both Corbinelli and Poggio among his friends.[7] The second hand, which wrote names and topics in the margin, is that of Ognibene himself; annotations are made by the same hand in Firenze, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. I VII 19, which was also written for him.[8] Although Ognibene spent little time at Florence, there is no evidence that Laur.1 ever left the city, as nothing is known of it between the time of its first owner

[7] Cosenza, IV 3229.
[8] I owe this information to Professor de la Mare.

and Bandini. The identity of *Ac1* is confused in the list of contents on fol. 1^v: *De Fato sive Academicis ut hic dicitur.*

Use: in ζ—Plasberg. Collated by Lagomarsini on 15 August 1740 and designated IV 57 by him.

London, British Library, Harley 5291 (= *Harl.3*)

Sources: Harley, 259; Reid, 65; Plasberg, *Minor* xvii n. 6 and 126; Reynolds, 27. Collated from ms.; seen 22–3 July 1977.

Characteristics: parchment; ii (paper) + 75 + ii + ii (paper) fols.; 257 × 180 mm.; 28–31 lines; Florence; ca. 1410; one hand: gothic script with some humanist features; marginal corrections by same hand; gold initials with white vine-stems and sections in green, red and pink on a blue base; catchwords; quinions.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 69^r–75^v.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM DE ACADEMICIS.*

History: The script suggests a transition from gothicism to humanism with an early 15th-century form of decoration, similar to Laur.1. Professor de la Mare dates Harl.3 about 1410, and identifies annotations to *Fin* as the work of Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459). An ex-libris on fol. 1^r has been erased and nothing is known of the owners of Harl.3 before Edward Harley (1689–1741), whose collection was bought after his death and placed in the British Museum in 1754/5. Reynolds places Harl.3 in the Γ tradition for *Fin.*

Use: Harl.3—Reid; in ζ—Plasberg.

Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana, 504 (= *Ricc.1*)

Sources: Riccardi, 14; Walser, 418; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* 126; Ullman, *Studies* 317; de la Mare, *Handwriting* 70, 73–4 and 82; Schmidt, 280; Reynolds, 29. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 1 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + iii + 140 + ii + i (paper) fols.; 285 × 200 mm.; 31 lines; Rome; 1425–6; one hand: formal humanist; marginal and superscript corrections by a second hand; marginal names by first hand; blue initials with violet vine-stem decoration; autograph ex-libris of Poggio.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Am*, 3. *Sen*, 4. *Top*, 5. *Part*, 6. *Somn*, 7. *Ac1* 133^{r}–139^{r}.

Inscription: *PARS ACADEMICORUM.*

Ex-libris: (1^{v} and 139^{r}) *LIBER POGGII.*

History: Ullman dates Ricc.1 to 1426–7 and Professor de la Mare to 1425–6, pointing out Poggio's own reference to a text of *Fin* to be started on 3 November 1425. Ullman follows Walser in believing this reference to be to no. 12 in the inventory of Poggio's books,[9] and not to the present manuscript, which was no. 1. The scribe, not Poggio himself, is the same as wrote Ricc. 499 and Vat. Lat. 2208, and may be identified as his French scribe 'Francia'.[10] Corrections are by Poggio himself.

Use: in ζ—Plasberg. No. IV 91 in Lagomarsini's list.

Laur.1 is the closest copy of Conv among the *deteriores*; where it disagrees with Conv, so also do Harl.3 and Ricc.1, but not necessarily vice versa. Moreover, at times Laur.1 represents the perfect link between Conv and the other two members of the family: at 2,8 (4.16), for example, where Conv reads *prohemiis*, Laur.1 presents *proemiis*, and Harl.3 and Ricc.1 read *praemiis*; and at 4,18 (8.15) Laur.1 follows Conv in reading *fugiendarumque*, whose omission is a characteristic of the tradition of P, as a marginal addition. Originally Laur.1 bore the same title for the *Academicus Primus* as Conv, and its subscription is the first part of that found in Conv. Indeed it looks as if the copying of Laur.1 from Conv may be attributed to the attested friendship of Corbinelli and Ognibene. The script of both manuscripts is similar, and Bandini believed them to have been written by the same copyist; but there is a discernible difference in the form of capital letters, and a different stylus has been used in each. Also, while the orthography of Conv is consistently humanist, Laur.1 reverts to mediaeval forms.

Harl.3 follows Laur.1 against Conv everywhere except in a few cases of orthography, and introduces a small number of innovations which are displayed by Ricc.1, including: *abessemus eius villa* for *eius villa abessemus* at 1,1 (1.8), *ea* om. at 1,2 (1.12), *scripsit* for *scripserit* at

[9] Walser, 106 n. 1.
[10] According to de la Mare, *Handwriting* 70.

4,13 (6.20), *adhibita affirmatione* for *affirmatione adhibita* at 4,17 (8.7), *putant* for *putat* at 7,27 (12.12), *dicunt esse* for *esse dicunt* at 7,29 (13.3), and *correptionem* for *correctionem* at 9,35 (15.13). Harl.3 is so close to Laur.1 both in textual quality and time, that it is surely a direct copy.

Just as Harl.3 followed Laur.1 against Conv, so Ricc.1 follows Harl.3 against Laur.1. Over thirty readings of secondary origin appear in Ricc.1, including the following omissions: *non* at 4,13 (6.19), *vos* at 5,18 (8.17), *ergo* at 5,19 (8.25), *ut in* at 6,24 (11.9), *nunc* at 7,25 (11.26), *enim* at 7,26 (12.3), *essent* at 7,26 (12.10), *vides* at 9,35 (15.15), *ea* at 12,43 (18.23), and *partis* at 12,46 (20.5). Other readings of secondary origin include fifteen transpositions and some additions which suggest that corrections were made consciously by the copyist himself. Further corrections, both above the line and in the margin, are the work of Poggio, as in the *De Finibus* in Harl.3. While some of these corrections restore the text of Ricc.1 to the form of its predecessors, others introduce readings which are not found in any other manuscripts. Of sixteen such corrections, eight restore the text of Harl.3 and five are found in other manuscripts without any consistent pattern of agreement; of the remainder, two represent clear evidence of an attempt to improve the meaning of the text: <*conferre*> after *vivendum* at 4,15 (7.9), and <*perfectum*> after *neque* at 5,20 (9.20–1). Both these additions, which are made in the margin, are a feature of the early printed editions. Poggio did not own another copy of the *Academicus Primus*, as far as we know, but he obviously had access to Harl.3, as his notes to the *De Finibus* show. Perhaps Harl.3 was lent to him, or brought by its unknown owner from Florence to Rome, where he used it, to enable him to organise the production of his own copy of the *Academicus Primus*. The Poggio connection provides further support for the conclusion that Ricc.1 is a direct copy of Harl.3 in the following stemma of this part of the tradition:

Laur.1
|
Harl.3
|
Ricc.1

The only problem which such a stemma raises is that of the date of Laur.1: while it appears to have been written soon after Conv, which is dated 1406, and its apograph Harl.3 has been dated to

about 1410, Sabbadini adduces a date of 1426 for the letter which Ognibene wrote to Pier Candido Decembrio about the *Academicus Primus*.[11] The words of the letter seem to suggest that Ognibene did not possess the *Academicus Primus* even at this late stage, nearly twenty years after the apparent copying of Laur.1. But a re-dating of the letter to about 1410 seems unlikely in view of Decembrio's age at that time, and Laur.1 can hardly be dated much later than 1410. The only way out of this impasse is to posit that Ognibene was not referring to the *Academicus Primus* in the letter, but perhaps to all the *Academici Libri*, whose survival was still rumoured as late as 1447.

b. *Giovanni Aretino*

A family of four manuscripts, which form Plasberg's α, includes the oldest dated descendant of Conv. The family is of mainly Florentine origin and dates from the first part of the 15th century. Its members present the following readings in common against Conv:

2,8 (4.9–11)	*a Graecis . . . veteribus nostris* om.
4,18 (8.11)	*ut dixi duobus* for *duobus ut dixi*
9,34 (15.6)	*Platonis* om.

In addition, three members of the family present the following readings against Conv, where the fourth, a derivative, restores the reading of Conv:

5,20 (9.18–19)	*exercitationum* for *exercitationis*
8,32 (14.12)	*adhibebat* for *adhibebatur*

Furthermore, the family reads *contemnat* for *contemnant* at 3,10 (5.6) together with another family which is descended from Conv.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm 763 (= *Mon.2*)

Sources: Madvig, xxiii n. 1; Munich, 192; Dougan, xl; Niccolai, 206; Sabbadini, *Scoperte* II 212; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; P. Lehmann,

[11] Sabbadini, *Scoperte* I 105 n. 69; see also p. 34.

Erforschung des Mittelalters, Stuttgart, 1959, I 15 n. 3; idem, 'Aufgaben und Anregungen der lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters', *Sitzungsberichte der Königliche Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Abh. 8 (1918), 21 n. 1; Ullman, *Origin* 91–6; de la Mare, *Script* 106 n. 66; Reynolds, 30 n. 96. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 25 August 1981.

Characteristics: parchment; ii + 171 + ii fols.; 291 × 188 mm.; 32 lines; Florence; 1414; one hand: formal humanistic script; in-line corrections and one marginal variant by first hand; one marginal note by another hand; gold initials with vine stems and sections in red, blue, green and pink; no catchwords; quinions; former shelfmarks: 106 and Cod. Victor 58.

Contents: 1. *Tusc*,/ 2. *Fin*,/ 3. *Ac1* 163^{r}–169^{v}.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM DE ACADEMICIS.*

Subscription: *Non reperitur ultra.*

Colophon: (81^{v}) *IOANNES ARRETINUS iiii.^{o} IDUS AUGUSTAS xiv.^{o} POST MIIII.^{o} ANNUM SALVATORIS FELICITER IN URBE FLORENTINA HUNC LIBRUM ABSOLVIT.*

History: Mon.2 is one of seven mss. written by Giovanni Aretino between 1410 and 1417.[12] They were written variously in *gothica bastarda* and formal and cursive humanistic script. Some were written for Cosimo de' Medici, and Ullman wonders whether Mon.2 is the ms. *in littera antica* of *Tusc* and *Fin* which was part of Cosimo's library in 1418. Annotations in Mon.2 have been identified by Professor de la Mare as by Guglielmo Tanaglia (1391–1460). Mon.2 was later owned by Pier Vettori, whose edition of the complete works of Cicero was published in 1536;[13] however, Mon.2 appears not to have been used towards his text of *Ac1*, at any rate. Vettori's library passed through generations of the family to Francesco Vettori (1693–1770) at Rome, where it was seen by Bandini in 1758. It was bought shortly afterwards for the Elector Bavaro-Palatine, Karl Theodor. According to Niccolai, Mon.2 and Clm 821 (Cicero, *Am*, *Sen*, and

[12] This list, made by Ullmann, has been extended by Paola Scarcia Piacentini, 'La tradizione laudense di Cicerone ed un inesplorato manoscritto della Biblioteca Vaticana (Vat. Lat. 3237)', *RHT* XI (1981), 123–46, who sees a later Venetian career for the copyist and discusses his true identity.

[13] See pp. 239–41. Mon.2 was no. 58 in his collection.

Parad) once formed a single ms.; but the contents of Mon.2 are so similar to other members of this family that it is doubtful whether the two mss. were joined originally.

Use: in α—Plasberg. Cited by Dougan for *Tusc*, and collated for Moser as *Codex Victorianus* by *viro iuvene E. Krausio.*

Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 90 sup. 77,1 (= *Laur.2*)

Sources: Bandini, *Cat Med* III 661–2; Deschamps, 132; Plasberg, *Minor* 126. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 31 March 1978.

Characteristics: paper (watermarks: Briquet 8925 and 2625); i + 151 + i fols.; 295 × 204 mm.; 28 lines; Florence; 1/4 15th cent.; two hands: humanistic script; marginal variants, corrections and topics by two other hands; space left for initials; marginal Greek quotations in *Fin*; no catchwords; quaternions.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Fin*,/ 2. *Ac1* 105^{r}–113^{v},/ (hand 2) 3. *Fat*,/ (hand 1) 4. *Tim*,/ 5. *Top.*

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM DE ACADEMICIS.*

Ex-libris: (152^{r}) *Di Piero di Francesco de Nero n. 19.*

History: Piero del Nero was a pupil of Marsilio Ficino who held public office at Florence in 1468 and died in 1512.[14] A note in his copy of Cicero's *Fam* (Med. Laur., Plut. 49,17) bears the date 1478. The watermarks suggest the use of a stock of old paper: 2625 (basil) was produced at Siena in 1369–70, and 8925 (letter R) is dated 1368–73 at Lucca and elsewhere.

Use: in α—Plasberg.

Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, IV.G.44 (= *Neap.2*)

Sources: Janelli, 233–4; Stroebel, 726; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Fossier, 198. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 7 April 1978.

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[14] According to Cosenza, III 2432.

Characteristics: parchment; iii (paper) + 103 + iii (paper) fols.; 237 × 159 mm.; 31–2 lines; N. European; early 15th cent.; one hand: gothic; marginal and superscript corrections by first hand; marginal notes and names by same hand; initials *ineleganter expictae* (Janelli) in red and blue, gold and blue, and violet and blue; space left for title; horizontal catchwords; quaternions; former shelf-marks: Cat. no. 13 (ca. 1653), No. 123; watermarks on fly-leaves similar to Briquet 6039.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 94^r–102^v, 3. two Italian sonnets, 4. eight stanzas of Italian verse.

Inscription: *Academicorum* (later hand).

Subscription: *Non reperitur ultra.*

History: Little is known about the early history of Neap.2: it looks to have originated north of Italy, possibly in France, in the early 15th cent (the watermark of the fly-leaves (sun) is found at Montreal in 1437 and Geneva in 1449). The provenance of Neap.2 was the Farnese library, where it appears in the catalogues of ca. 1653 at Parma (no. 13), and of Pietro Rutinelli (no. 378).[15]

Use: in α—Plasberg.

Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Palat. Lat. 1516 (= *Pal.2*)

Sources: Halm, *Hss* 176; Dougan, xxxiv; Schiche, iv n. 1; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Lehmann, 77, 110, 215 and 514; Fohlen, 169. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 3 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + 225 + i (paper) fols.; 260 × 183 mm.; 24–7 lines; Florence; 1426; one hand: round humanistic script; marginal names by another hand; gold initials with white vine-stems on a blue base; one horizontal catchword; quinions; former shelf-marks: 334, 1386, hen 222, p. 596 f. no. 30, and C. 126 338.

Contents: 1. *Tusc*,/ 2. *Fin*,/ 3. *Ac1* 215^r–224^r.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM DE ACADEMICIS.*

Subscription: excised.

[15] For the Farnese collection, see pp. 81–2.

Colophon: (114^{v}) *ANNO XXVI*^{o} *.X*^{o} *DIE MAII.*

History: Fohlen has identified the annotator and compiler of the list of contents on fol. 1^{v} as Pietro da Montagnana, a monk at San Giovanni di Verdara at Padua, who left his books to the monastery in 1478.[16] Pal.2 was acquired, probably in Italy, by Ulrich Fugger and appears in his inventories of April 1555 as hen 222, and of 1571 as no. 2337. A note on fol. 1^{r} reveals that Pal.2 is Gruter's *Palatinus primus*; the addition of chapter numbers (1–12) in the margin and the underlining of corrupt passages, as in Pal.1, are also the work of Gruter.[17] Pal.2 thereafter followed the same path as Pal.1.[18]

Use: *Palatinus primus*—Gruter; in α—Plasberg. Listed by Dougan (*Tusc*), and by Schiche (*Fin*), but not collated.

Three members of this family (Mon.2, Laur.2 and Pal.2) are Florentine, bear the same inscription to the *Academicus Primus*, and share a closely related tradition against Neap.2, which presents more readings in error than the other three members combined. Among more than forty such errors are: *ad eum confestim* for *confestim ad eum* at 1,1 (1.7), *<esse> putant* at 2,5 (3.1), *nostri esse putant virtutem* for *virtutem esse nostri putant* at 2,5 (3.2–3), *tui libri tamquam hospites* for *tamquam hospites tui libri* at 3,9 (4.19–20), *haec <est>* at 6,22 (10.9), *nominabant* for *appellabant* at 8,32 (14.7), *peracurate* for *peracute* at 9,35 (15.12), and *nominabat* for *numerabat* at 11,42 (17.30). The errors which are found in Mon.2, Laur.2 and Pal.2 together, however, consist of the following only: *causas officia* for *officia causas* at 3,9 (4.25–6), *in rebus ut* (first hand only of Mon.2) for *ut in rebus* at 6,24 (11.9), and *et <et>* at 8,32 (14.8). Thus Neap.2 is independent of Mon.2, Laur.2 and Pal.2 beneath α. The greater number of errors in Neap.2, together with its non-Florentine origin, suggests that it descends from it through a lost intermediary.

Of the remaining members of this family Mon.2 is clearly nearest to the archetype: it has no omissions and a total of only seven readings in error, while Laur.2 presents three omissions and over thirty other readings in error, and Pal.2 has five omissions and nearly

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[16] Thus Cosenza, II 1437 and V 720. Some of the activities of Pietro are described in A.C. de la Mare, P.K. Marshall and R.H. Rouse, 'Pietro da Montagnana and the Text of Aulus Gellius in Paris, B.N. lat. 13038', *Scriptorium* 30 (1976), 219–25.

[17] See Glucker, *Chapter* 105 n. 8.

[18] See p. 59.

twenty other errors. All the errors which are found in Mon.2 are also found in either Laur.2 or Pal.2, but not in both. Those which are found in one or the other are: *ista inquam* in Laur.2 for *inquam ista* at 3,9 (4.18), *exercitationum* (first hand) in Pal.2 for *exercitationis* (corrector) in Laur.2 at 5,20 (9.18–19), *animandum* (corrector) in Pal.2 for *animantium* at 7,26 (12.5), and *cum* <*cum*> in Laur.2 at 12,43 (18.16). No clear pattern emerges from these agreements, except that Mon.2 is related to both Laur.2 and Pal.2 in some way, while the latter are not further related to each other.

It is fairly certain that Mon.2 is the parent of Laur.2: for Laur.2 follows the original reading of Mon.2 everywhere except in the correction *exercitationis* at 5,20 (9.18–19); indeed, there is a possibility that the correction in Mon.2 came from Laur.2, which shows signs of having been corrected from a manuscript source. Furthermore, it is probable that Mon.2 and Laur.2 were written by the same copyist, Giovanni Aretino, although Laur.2 is not included among thirteen manuscripts identified as having been written by him between 1410 and 1417.[19] The hands of both manuscripts are similar, with a strikingly flamboyant ampersand. Giovanni's style of writing developed considerably over this period and the similarity of script in the two manuscripts suggests that Laur.2 was written soon after Mon.2 in 1414. Corrections to Laur.2, over thirty in number, consist of mainly in-line corrections by Giovanni himself and marginal ones by other hands; Giovanni's are drawn from Mon.2, while the other corrections are from another source. The correction of *inter* to *interdum* at 7,29 (13.9) is found, usually as a marginal variant, only in P and its close relatives, and in the editions of Lambinus (from 1565). Of two corrections by a third hand, the addition of <*perfectum*> at 5,20 (9.20–1) is found in only a handful of manuscripts[20] and in most of the early printed editions, except the Aldine of 1523, while the replacement of *Aeschinem* at 3,10 (5.11) by *Aeschylum* agrees with the descendants of Γ and printed editions from the first Ascensian of 1511.

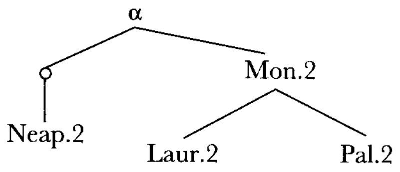
Mon.2 also appears to be the parent of Pal.2; the only objection to such a conclusion is presented by the correct reading *inquam ista* at 3,9 (4.18) against *ista inquam* of Mon.2. But this transposition is one

[19] Identified by Ullman, *Origin* 91–5, and de la Mare, *Handwriting* 49. The only objection to such a conclusion comes from the observation that all other known manuscripts by Giovanni are written on parchment.

[20] In the text of Gand, Cant, Sant, Ambr.2, Harl.2 and Chis, and in the margin of Ricc.1.

of three in Pal.2, and may come from a propensity of the scribe to change word-order or from contamination: *esse rerum* at 8,30 (13.17–18) in place of *rerum esse* in Mon.2 is also found in the Florentine branch γ, as is the *lectio facilior* of *earum* for *eadem* in front of *rerum* at 4,18 (8.15).

The stemma of this family is:



α was obviously copied some time between 1406 (date of Conv) and 1414 (date of Mon.2). As both Conv and three members of the family were written at Florence, we may attribute the production of Neap.2, with its northerly appearance, to the movement outside Italy either of an intermediary Florentine copy or of α itself, after Mon.2 had been written. Such an occasion may have been offered by an event such as the Council of Constance (1414–17), where scholars and book-collectors from distant places could enrich their libraries with minimal effort.

The small number of errors in α, as well as the shortness of time between the production of Conv and Mon.2, suggests that the parent of Mon.2 was copied directly from Conv. Thus it may be that the omission of the passage *a Graecis . . . veteribus nostris* at 2,8 (4.9–11) is due to more than just homoearcton, as it fills two complete lines in Conv.

c. *Bookshop of Vespasiano da Bisticci*

The largest family of manuscripts among the *deteriores*, called β by Plasberg, consists of volumes of the collected philosophical works of Cicero and has received a full treatment from Schmidt; a study of the *Academicus Primus* produces similar results to those already found for the *De Legibus* and confirms the important role played by Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421–98) in the rapid expansion of classical texts in the mid-15th century. Nine extant members of the family present a text of the *Academicus Primus*; one contains the *Academicus Primus* but not

the *De Legibus*, and one member of the family for the *Academicus Primus* is located in a different part of the tradition for the *De Legibus*, while another manuscript (Vat. Pal. Lat. 1524) includes the *De Legibus* but not the *Academicus Primus*. A tenth, which presented both works, has been destroyed in the 20th century. Only a few agreements against the tradition of Conv are shared by all the members of this family alone:

4,15 (7.8)	*censet* for *censeret*
7,28 (12.30)	*sentirent* or *sentire* for *sentiente*
7,29 (13.5)	*eis* for *ei*
9,34 (14.29)	*Stratus* for *Strato*
12,45 (19.10)	*ut* for *ne*

Further characteristic readings which are found in other, unrelated manuscripts are: *hoc* omitted at 3,11 (5.24), *ut* for *aut*[1] at 5,21 (10.2), *qua* for *quia* at 7,29 (13.8), *appellant* for *appellabant* at 8,32 (14.7), *est* for *esset* at 11,41 (17.21), and *praeceptioni* for *perceptioni* at 12,45 (19.19).

Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Gaddi 90 sup. 78 (= *Gadd*)

Sources: Bandini, *Cat Med* III 662; Deschamps, 132; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Pease, *Nat* 76; Schmidt, 319 and 327–35. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 31 March 1978.

Characteristics: paper (watermark: Briquet 11689); i + i (parchment) + 230 + i (parchment) + i fols.; 337 × 240 mm.; 24–7 lines; Florence; ca. 1440; one hand: cursive humanistic script; variants by first hand; spaces left for initials; quinions; previous shelf-mark: 81; badly damaged by water.

Contents: 1. *Nat*, 2. *Div*, 3. *Fat*,/ 4. *Leg*,/ 5. *Ac1* 171r–178r,/ 6. *Luc*, 7. *Tim*,/ 8. *Somn*.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM PRIMI LIBRI de Academicis.*

Ex-libris: (1r) *Bernardi de Puccinis n. xxvi.*

History: Although the watermark (a cross on a mountain-top) appears at Florence 1411–21, as well as at Brunswick 1412 and Pisa 1416,

Schmidt suggests a date of about 1440 for Gadd, which is one of eleven mss. in the Bibl. Laurenziana which belonged to Bernardo Puccini (d. 1575). Gadd is thought by Schmidt to have entered the Gaddi library directly, and was bought from Gaspare Gaddi in 1755 by Francesco II, Grand Duke of Tuscany; part of the collection was given to the Laurenziana. Gadd was already *aquis pluvialibus valde maculatus* when catalogued by Bandini in 1776.

Use: in β—Plasberg; Gadd—Schmidt (*Leg*).

Oxford, Balliol College, 248D (= *Ball*)

Sources: James, I 31 vol. 247; Davies, i; Oxford, I 18; Coxe, I 85; Madvig, xiv; Reid, 65; Dougan, xliii; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xvii n. 6, 126; Pease, *Div* 613, *Nat* 77; Mynors, 272; Schmidt, 320–1 and 331–3; *Texts*, 95; Reynolds, 30 n. 96. Collated from ms.; seen 22/29 July 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + 391 + i (paper) fols.; 355 × 247 mm.; 36 lines; Florence; 1445–54; one hand: humanistic book-hand; marginal notes by two other hands; gold initials with white vine stems and sections in pink and green on a blue base; list of contents on front fly-leaf; mainly quaternions; former shelf-mark: Arch. C.I. 4.

Contents: *Off* (from I 7), 2. *Am*, 3. *Sen*, 4. *Parad*,/ 5. *Tusc*,/ 6. *Nat*,/ 7. *Div*, 8. *Fat*,/ 9. *Leg*, 10. *Ac1* 282^{v}–288^{r}, 11. *Luc*, 12. *Tim*, 13. *Somn*,/ 14. *Fin*.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM PRIMI LIBRI DE ACADEMICIS.*

Subscription: *Non ulterius reperitur.*

Ex-libris: (front fly-leaf) *Liber domus de Balliolo in oxon ex dono William Gray Eliensis Episcopi.*

History: Probably written for William Gray (ca. 1408–78), Bishop of Ely, during his stay in Italy. Gray studied at Padua in 1444–5 and at Ferrara under Guarino, before serving as Proctor to King Henry VI at Rome from 1446. Ball is a companion volume to four other mss. at Balliol (248A–C, E), including Cicero's speeches (248B, written in 1447) and rhetorical works (248E, written in 1445), which

Gray ordered from Vespasiano da Bisticci.[21] In his life of Gray, Vespasiano records that Gray bought books at Cologne, Florence, Padua and Ferrara. Gray left his books to his old college, as the note on the front fly-leaf records. The original fol. 1, now missing, bore an armorial device which was cut out before the folio was removed, leaving incisions on the following two folios.

Use: Balliol—Davies; ψ—Oxford, Reid; in β—Plasberg; Ball—Schmidt (*Leg*). Cited by Feldhügel (*Leg*), Hottinger (*Div*), Dougan (*Tusc*) and Mayor (*Nat*).

Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria, 2228 (Lat. 1096) (= *Bon*)[22]

Sources: Frati, 443; d'Ancona, II 315 no. 637; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Pease, *Div* 616, *Nat* 75; M.H. Laurent, *Fabio Vigili et les bibliothèques de Bologne au début du xve siècle* (ST 105), Vatican City, 1943, 344; Badali, 58 n. 42; Schmidt, 321–35 and Tafel VI; Reynolds, 30 n. 96. Microfilm of both texts of *Ac1* only; seen 11 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + 370 + i (paper) fols.; 372 × 252 mm.; 38 lines; Florence; 1465–70; one hand: humanistic book-hand; marginal and superscript variants by same hand; gold initials with white vine-stems and sections in pink, green and blue on a blue base; rubric titles and subscriptions; vertical catchwords; quaternions and quinions; former shelf-marks: S. Salvator 534, and 162.

Contents: 1. *Off,* 2. *Am,* 3. *Sen,* 4. *Parad,/* 5. *Tusc,* 6. *Fin,* 7. *Ac1* 208^{v}–214^{v},/ 8. *Nat,/* 9. *Div,* 10. *Fat,* 11. *Leg,* 12. *Ac1* 333^{v}–339^{r}, 13. *Luc,* 14. *Tim,* 15. *Somn.*

Inscription: (208^{v}) *SEXTUS LIBER* [sc. *De Finibus*] *EIUSDEM INCIPIT FELICITER.* (333^{v}) *M.T.C. FRAGMENTUM PRIMI LIBRI DE ACADEMICIS INCIPIT FELICITER.*

Subscription: (214^{v}) *LIBER SEXTUS ET ULTIMUS M.T.C. DE FINIBUS BONORUM ET MALORUM EXPLICIT FELICITER.*

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21 Thus Mynors, xxxi.

22 Two copies of *Ac1* appear in Bon: the first, Bon(1) on fols 208^{v}–214^{v}, is discussed on pp. 147–51, as it belongs to the tradition of κ, and the second, on fols. 333^{v}–339^{r}, forms part of the tradition discussed here. The reason for two copies of the same text in the same codex is that Bon(1) was identified as book six of *Fin*, while Bon(2) was correctly identified as *Ac1*.

History: Written, possibly by the same copyist as Urb, for Domenico de' Domenichi (1416–78), Bishop of Torcello (1448–64) and Brescia (from 1464), whose arms are found on fol. 1^r. Professor de la Mare has pointed out to me that all the dated mss. written at Florence for Domenico were executed between 1467 and 1469. Bon is one of several books of Domenico which were bought from his heirs at Venice on 11 January 1532 by Peregrinus Fabretti for the Augustinian monastery of San Salvatore at Bologna.[23] Bon appears as no. 534 in the inventory of San Salvatore made about 1533. It was taken to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris in 1796 and returned to Bologna in 1815, entering the university library in 1866.

Use: in β and κ—Plasberg; Bon—Schmidt (*Leg*). Listed by Badalì (*Parad*).

Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Fiesole 188 (= *Fes*)

Sources: Bandini, *Cat Laur* III 129–30 and 532; Niccolai, 206; d'Ancona, II 303 no. 597; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Pease, *Div* 435, *Nat* 76; Manitius, 38; de la Mare, *Vespasiano* II 269 and 418; Badalì, 50; Schmidt, 322–3; Reynolds, 30 n. 96. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 31 March 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; iii (paper) + i + 297 + iii (paper) fols.; 387 × 270 mm.; 40 lines; Florence; ca. 1460; one hand: humanistic book-hand; marginal and superscript variants and corrections by same hand; marginal topics in red by a second hand; gold initials with white vine-stems and sections in blue, green and red on a blue base; Medici arms on fol. 1^r; mainly quinions.

Contents: 1. *Off,* 2. *Am,* 3. *Sen,* 4. *Parad,* 5. *Somn,* 6. *Tusc,*/ 7. *Fin,* 8. *Nat,* 9. *Div,* 10. *Fat,* 11. *Leg,*/ 12. *Ac1* 266^r–272^r, 13. *Luc,* 14. *Tim.*

Inscription: *De Achademicis liber primus* (in margin).

History: Fes was ordered by Cosimo de' Medici for the rebuilt monastery of San Bartolommeo (the Badia) at Fiesole from the bookshop of Vespasiano; this may be deduced from the combination of

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[23] Thus Frati, 169, and H. Jedin, *Girolamo Seripando*, Würzburg, 1937, 43–4, who omits Bon itself.

the Medici arms on fol. 1^r, Vespasiano's accounts with the Badia of Fiesole, and a lengthy note beneath the table of contents on fol. 1^v.[24] Vespasiano's accounts with the Badia of Fiesole, contained in Firenze, Spedale degli Innocenti, Archive no. 141, include the following item:[25]

> *item de hauere adj 22 febr. fl. trentacinque lar per resto di fl. cento sessanta lar. che costorono le opere di tulio in 3 volumi, e lopere di seneca in uno, hauuti dal deto Vespasiano per la libreria sono fl. 35 lar.*
>
> *l. 192 s.10*

Professor de la Mare identifies the three-volume collection of Cicero as Fiesole 186–188, which Bandini believed to have been written by the same copyist. Vespasiano provided books for the Badia at Fiesole from 1461 until 1466–7, after Cosimo's death. A note on fol. i^v, in a cursive hand, records the shelf-mark of Fes in the Badia library: *In decimo banco a meridie.* Fes remained at the Badia until it was suppressed in 1778; it was removed to the Laurenziana in 1783.

Use: in β—Plasberg; Fes—Schmidt (*Leg*).

Firenze, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 83,7 (= *Laur.3*)

Sources: Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca* I 401; Bandini, *Cat Med* III 209; Deschamps, 131; Piccolomini, 118 no. 66; E. Müntz, *Les collections des Médecis au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1888, 47; d'Ancona, II 276 no. 470; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Pease, *Div* 617, *Nat* 76; Manitius, 36; Schmidt, 321. Microfilm of the whole ms.; seen 31 March 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 268 fols.; 260 × 180 mm.; 29 lines; Florence; ca. 1450–60; one hand: humanistic book-hand; gold initials with white vine-stems and sections in green, pink and red on a blue base; mainly quinions.

Contents: 1. *Nat*, 2. *Div*, 3. *Fat*,/ 4. *Leg*, 5. *Somn*, 6. *Ac1* 215^r–225^v, 7. *Luc.*

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[24] The note is reported in full by Schmidt, 323. However, the reading *volumine* at the start of the second sentence should read *volumen* in the phrase *Postremo illis hoc volumen M.T.C. dono dedit.*

[25] First published by de la Mare, *Vespasiano* II 269.

Inscription: *Pars libelli de philosophia M.T. Ciceronis* (later hand).[26]

Subscription: *Fragmentum.*

History: Laur.3 was written for Piero di Cosimo de' Medici (1416–69), whose arms appear on fol. 1r; at the end of the book is *LIBER PETRI DE MEDICIS COS. FIL.*, written by the copyist. Laur.3 features in the 1456 and 1464 inventories of Piero's books, but is not obvious in the 1495 inventory by Bartholomaeus de Ciais and Janus Lascaris, where it could be 523 (596), 526 (593) or 539,[27] all of which are listed as containing *Nat* on parchment.

Use: in β—Plasberg; Laur.3—Schmidt (*Leg*).

London, collection of Nicholas Barker (= *Lond*)

Sources: Christie's catalogue, 4 April 1962, lot 16. Collated from ms.; seen 8 July 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + 220 + i (paper) fols.; 268 × 184 mm.; 27 lines; Florence; ca. 1460; one hand: humanistic script; marginal and superscript corrections and variants by same hand; gold initials with white vine-stems and sections in red and green on a blue base; rubric titles; quinions; former shelf-marks: 1425 (on spine), 169 (front fly-leaf), B4 and 3C (inside front cover).

Contents: 1. *Nat*, 2. *Div*, 3. *Fat*,/ 4. *Ac1* 169r–178v,/ 5. *Luc.*

Inscription: *Fragmentum. M.T.C. LIBER PRIMUS ACADEMICORUM.*

Subscription: *nihil in exemplari plus erat.*

History: Although Lond is dated about 1460 in the sale catalogue, Professor de la Mare is of the opinion that it was written earlier, perhaps between 1420 and 1430. The first known owner of Lond was Sir George Shuckburgh (1751–1804), whose ex-libris appears on the front fly-leaf. Mr Barker informs me that Shuckburgh's books passed to the Earls of Liverpool and then, through Viscount Portman, to Major N.D. Martin of Carne House, Dorchester. Lond was sold at Christie's by Lady Christian Holland Martin.

Use: This is the first time that any text in Lond has been collated.

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[26] Same as Rom; see p. 210.
[27] Listed by Piccolomini, 88.

New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr., M 497 (= *Pier*)

Sources: W. Weinberger, *Beiträge zur Handschriftenkunde* (Sitzungsberichte der Philosophischen-Historischen Klasse 159), Vienna, 1908, 6, 50; T. de Marinis, *Manuscrits, incunables, et livres rares*, Libr. Anc. T. de Marinis et Cie., Cat. XII, Florence, 1913, 14–16; d'Ancona, II 878 no. 1703; R.P. Robinson, 'The Inventory of Niccolò Niccoli', *Classical Philology* 16 (1921), 251–5; S. de Ricci, 'A Handlist of Latin Classical Manuscripts in American Libraries', *Philological Quarterly* 1 (1922), 102; Pease, *Div* 618, *Nat* 74; A. de Hevesy, *La bibliothèque du roi Matthias Corvin*, Paris, 1923, 71 no. 76; G. Fraknoi, G. Fogel, P. Gulyas and E. Hoffmann, *Biblioteca Corvina*, Budapest, 1927, 74; W. Allen, 'The Four Corvinus Mss. in the US', *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 47 (1938), 321–3; B. da Costa Greene and M.P. Harrsen, *The Pierpont Morgan Library: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York, 1934, 59 no. 124; G. Schütz, 'Biblioteca Corvina', *The Library Quarterly* 4 (1934), 553; de Ricci & Wilson, II 1461; M. Harrsen and G.K. Boyce, *Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1953, 40–1; G. Szabo, *Corvinus Manuscripts in the United States* (Hungarian Bibliography Series 2), New York, 1960, 8–11; Bond & Faye, 347; C. Csapodi, K. Csapodi-Gárdonyi and T. Szántó, *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, Shannon, 1969, 62; de la Mare, *Handwriting* 45 n. 5, *Library* 186–7; C. Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library*, Budapest, 1973, 184; Schmidt, 324–6. Microfilm of whole ms.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 271 fols.; 320 × 210 mm.; 34 lines; Florence; ca. 1470; two hands: 1. humanistic book-hand,[28] 2. humanistic cursive; marginal names by another hand; spaces left for Greek words; vertical catchwords; mainly quinions.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Nat*, 2. *Div*,/ 3. *Off*,/ 4. *Am*, 5. *Parad*,/ 6. *Sen*,/ 7. *Ac1* 188^r–194^r,/ 8. *Luc*, 9. *Tim*, 10. *Somn*,/ 11. *Leg*,/ 12. *Fat*, (hand 2) 13. Niccolò Niccoli, *Commentarium in Peregrinatione Germaniae.*

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM PRIMI LIBRI DE ACADEMICIS INCIPIT FELICITER.*

History: The copyist of the Ciceronian portion of Pier has been identified as 'Hubertus', who specialised in large works and collections

[28] Gothica-antiqua, according to Csapodi-Gárdonyi.

for Vespasiano in the early 1460s and for Francesco Sassetti (1420–91), both in the 1460s and later.[29] The decoration in Pier has been attributed, again by Professor de la Mare, to Ser Benedetto di Silvestro, and appears to have been added in the late 1470s. The *Commentarium* of Niccoli has been added on blank folios of the last gathering by a copyist whose hand resembles Pierantonio Sallando, according to Harrsen and Boyce. Pier has been variously dated between 1450 and 1485, but most recent opinion favours some time in the 1470s. It was probably written for Sassetti, general manager of the Medici bank, whose arms appear at the beginning of six of the eight gatherings which coincide with the beginning of a new work. De Hevesy records the presence of the Sassetti motto *M[I]TIA FATA MIHI. FRANCIS[CUS SASSETTUS]* at the end of Pier, but this is no longer to be found; a close examination reveals that the last gathering is imperfect. Towards the end of the 1480s, probably in 1488, Pier was acquired by Taddeo Ugoleto for Matthias Corvinus (1440–90), King of Hungary. Corvinus' arms were painted over those of Sassetti on the other two gatherings which coincide with a new work. No more is known of Pier until the 19th century, when it was acquired by Giovanni Francesco de Rossi, whose wife, Charlotte de Bourbon Parma, gave it to the Jesuit College at Rome after her husband's death. Pier appears to have been one of the thousand or so mss. which the then head of the Jesuits, P. Beckx, was permitted to remove to Fiesole; the earliest date by which it can have returned to Rome is 1895. It reached the Università Gregoriana before 1912 and was sold the following year by T. de Marinis to J. Pierpont Morgan.

Use: Corv—Schmidt (*Leg*).

Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Urb. Lat. 319 (= *Urb*)

Sources: C. Guasti, 'Inventario della libreria Urbinate', *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani* 7 (1863), 138; C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinates Latini*, Vatican City, 1902, I 277–8; d'Ancona, II 619 no. 1273; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Pease, *Div* 617, *Nat* 78; Manitius, 37; Schmidt, 158–61; Fohlen, 543–4. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 6 April 1978.

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[29] By de la Mare, *Library* 187.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 216 fols.;[30] 326 × 205 mm.; 33 lines; Florence; 1470–4; one hand: round humanistic script; superscript corrections by another hand; arms of Federico da Montefeltro on fol. 2^r, with the letters 'F.C.' in red on either side; elsewhere gold initials with white vine-stems and sections in blue, pink and green on a blue base; horizontal catchwords and gathering numbers; quinions; former shelf-mark: 574.

Contents: 1. *Nat*, 2. *Div*, 3. *Leg*,/ 4. *Ac1* 157^r–165^r, 5. *Luc*,/ 6. *Tim*, 7. *Fat*.

Inscription: *MARCI TULLII CICERONIS DE ACADEMICIS LIBER PRIMUS INCIPIT FELICITER.*

History: The form of the title ('Federicus Comes') used to describe Federico da Montefeltro (1422–82) indicates that Urb was in his possession before 1474, when he became Duke of Urbino. The copyist has been recognised as Nicolaus Riccius Spinosus, who is known to have worked for Vespasiano,[31] and is probably to be identified with Niccolò di Antonio da Pardo de' Ricci, who signed at least 16 mss. (only one dated), of which five were copied for the Medici and one for Federico.[32] Urb is no. 444 in the 1487 inventory, according to L. Michelini Tocci, 'Agapito bibliotecario "docto, acorto et diligente" della Biblioteca Urbinate alla fine del quattrocento', *Collectanea Vaticana in honorem A.M. Albareda* (ST 220), 1962, II 275–8, and no. 425 in the inventory drawn up, perhaps in 1517, by Federigo Veterano, and reported by Guasti. The library was acquired by Pope Alexander VII and entered the Vatican in 1657. Urb is located by Schmidt in a different part of the tradition for *Leg*.

Use: in β—Plasberg; Urb—Schmidt (*Leg*); in *deteriores*—M. van der Bruwaene (*Nat*).

New Haven, Yale University Libr., 284 (= *Yal*)

Sources: Sotheby & Co., Sale Catalogue, 3 December 1951, lot 22; H.W. Liebert, 'Books and Manuscripts from the Rabinowitz library',

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[30] Numbered 1–206; fols. 45–54 are included twice. Folio numbers are given above as if 45–54 were numbered once only.

[31] Identified by Prof. de la Mare and reported by Schmidt, 432. For Riccius, see Ullman, *Origin* 91.

[32] According to de la Mare, *Vespasiano* II 456.

YULG 35 (1960), 11; T. de Marinis, *La legatura artistica in Italia nei secoli XV e XVI*, Florence, 1960, II 102 no. 1027; Bond & Faye, 49; Schmidt, 323–35; W. Cahn and J. Marrow, 'Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Yale: a Selection', *YULG* 52 (1978), 234–5; Reynolds, 30 n. 96. Microfilm of whole ms.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 278 fols.; 388 × 269 mm.; 40 lines; Florence; 1470; one hand: humanistic cursive; marginal note by same hand; superscript corrections by another hand; illuminated initials with white vine-stems, and pink, green, blue and gold sections on a blue base; rubric titles; vertical catchwords; mainly quinions.

Contents: 1. *Nat*, 2. *Div*, 3. *Fat*, 4. *Leg*,/ 5. *Ac1* 92^{r}–96^{r}, 6. *Luc*, 7. *Fin*, 8. *Somn*,/ 9. *Tusc*, 10. *Sen*, 11. *Parad*, 12. *Am*, 13. *Off*.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM PRIMI LIBRI DE ACADEMICIS INCIPIT.*

Colophon: (275^{v}) *FLORENTIAE PRIDIE KAL M APRILIS ANNO SALUTIS M.CCCC.LXX.*

History: Yal was written by Pietro Cennini (1444–84).[33] The writing of a colophon on an otherwise blank page is considered by the Sotheby catalogue to indicate that Yal was commissioned by a bookseller. The earliest known owner of Yal was János Vitéz (1408–72), Archbishop of Gran (Esztergom) from 1465 until his exile in 1471, whose arms are on fol. 1^{r}; he may have acquired Yal off the shelf at Vespasiano's book-shop through an intermediary such as Janus Pannonius. Some of Vitéz' books were confiscated by Matthias Corvinus, and others passed to his successor at Gran, J. Beckenschlager or Beckensloer (1430–89), who fled to Salzburg in 1476. Nothing more is known of Yal until 1882 when it was bequeathed by Jonathan Peckover to his brother Alexander (1830–1919), later 1st Baron Peckover of Wisbech;[34] his granddaughter-in-law, Mrs A.P.D. Penrose, put Yal up for sale at Sotheby's, where it was acquired by L.M. Rabinowitz, whose wife sold it to Frank Altschul; he presented it to Yale in 1960.

Use: Yal—Schmidt (*Leg*).

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[33] For Cennini, see article by M. Palma in *DBI* XXIII (1979), 572–5.
[34] See *Who was who 1916–1928*, 1929, 825.

Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibl., Dc 106 (= *Dresd.1*)

Sources: Goetze, I 397 and II 81; Goerenz, vi; Ebert, 263–4; Falkenstein, 251; Moser, *Parad* xi; Gustafsson, *Quaestiones* 16–17; Schnorr, 311–2; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Pease, *Div* 611, *Nat* 73; Schmidt, 327; Reynolds, 30 n. 96.

Characteristics: parchment; 342 fols.; Italy; ca. 1460; humanistic script; gold initials and coloured decoration; former shelf-marks: Elect. 47, Regia D. 50.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Nat*, 3. *Div*, 4. *Off*, 5. *Am*, 6. *Parad*, 7. *Tusc*, 8. *Fat*, 9. *Leg*, 10. *Ac1* 305^r, 11. *Luc*, 12. *Tim*, 13. *Somn.*

Inscription: *de coelo et mundo.*

History: Dresd.1 belonged to the collection of the von Werthern family, founded by Dietrich von Werthern (1468–1536), who studied at Bologna between 1486 and 1495. Dietrich's son Wolfgang (1519–83) also studied at Bologna. After the death of Philipp (1525–88), the last of Wolfgang's brothers, the library was bought by Elector Christian of Saxony. Dresd.1 was destroyed by bombing in 1945.

Use: *Dresdensis I*—Goerenz;[35] in β—Plasberg; *Dresdensis secundus*—Moser (*Parad*); *Dresdensis*—Giese (*Div*); Dresd.1—Schmidt (*Leg*). Cited by Feldhügel (*Leg*).

Schmidt found that all the other members of this family descend from Gadd for the *De Legibus*, and the same applies for the *Academicus Primus*: Gadd presents no omissions, additions or transpositions which are not found in the other members of the family. As with the *De Legibus*, no two members of the family form a sub-group beneath Gadd; some manuscripts are closer to Gadd in quality of text than others, as the following figures indicate:

[35] Although Goerenz claimed to have collated Dresd.1, the readings from it which he records in his apparatus are few in number (9) and do not reveal any of the typical errors of this family. Indeed, the reading of *plurimumque* at 3,9 (4.26), which he attributes to this ms., is found in only two mss., of which one is Dresd.2! I have followed Plasberg and Schmidt in placing Dresd.1 in this family, although I do not cite any readings from it.

	Ball	Bon(2)	Fes	Laur.3	Lond	Pier	Urb	Yal
Omissions	7	3	17	1	4	7	2	5
Additions	3	1	4	2	1	3	1	2
Transpositions	6	1	2	6	0	0	0	0
Other readings in error	16	15	40	16	30	11	13	12

Only eight common errors are found in more than one manuscript beneath Gadd, and no clear pattern of agreement emerges. In a further four places two manuscripts agree in restoring the text of Conv and of the rest of the *deteriores*: in three of these readings Pier and Yal are the manuscripts concerned. While Pier and Yal both have a Hungarian connection, I do not believe that they form a sub-group; independent contamination is the more likely reason for their agreement. Contamination is a possibility with Yal and a probability with Pier; for Pier reverts to the tradition of Conv at five more places. While no sub-groups exist on textual evidence, other factors draw manuscripts together. Both Pier and Urb, for example, have contents pages of a striking appearance with the constituent works named inside a series of circles; Bon and Urb appear to have been written by the same scribe; the decorated initials in Laur.3 and Urb are thought by Schmidt to be by the same artist;[36] likewise there are similarities between Lond and Urb; finally Laur.3, Urb, Yal and Dresd.1[37] all contained a miniature of Cicero seated, book in hand, together with other flamboyant marginal decorations. The composition of these manuscripts also shows some interesting groupings. There are two types of book: the shorter, consisting of most of the works found in Gadd, and the suppletive, which represents an attempt to produce an edition of Cicero's philosophical corpus. The shorter version is found in Laur.3, Lond and Urb, as well as Gadd, while the longer constitutes Ball, Bon, Fes, Pier and Yal, and used to be found in Dresd.1. While the sequence of works in the smaller books is similar, there is greater variation in the longer version: Ball, Bon and Fes present the additional works before those in Gadd, and Yal places them afterwards. In Pier and Dresd.1, the original works in Gadd and the additional ones are mixed up. There seems to be no correlation between size of volume and date of copying. It seems

[36] Schmidt, 331 n. 10.
[37] The last according to Falkenstein, 251.

highly likely that the suppletive books consisted of the contents of Gadd plus Gaddi 90 sup. 66, which contains the *De Officiis*, *De Amicitia*, *De Senectute* and *Paradoxa*; this would leave only the *Tusculanae Disputationes* (in Gaddi 90 sup. 76) and *De Finibus*. Such a corpus has been posited by Rizzo for the orations and would obviously antedate Bernardo Puccini; but Rizzo excludes the possibility of involvement of Vespasiano.[38] Further clarity will be gained when other works are collated. The overall picture is one of a closed tradition without subgrouping beneath Gadd. Individual members of the group show common characteristics because of the environment in which they were written. For, with the exception of Gadd and possibly Lond, the members of this family appear to be products of the bookshop of Vespasiano da Bisticci. Connections with him among members of the family abound: Ball is one of a set of manuscripts commissioned from him; Pier was written by a copyist who is known to have worked for him; Fes appears in his accounts with the Badia of Fiesole; and Urb was written by another copyist who worked for him. The first known owners of Ball, Bon, Urb and Yal all feature in Vespasiano's *Vite di Uomini Illustri del Secolo XV*.[39] Perhaps we may look among other *uomini illustri* for the first owner of Dresd.1.

Whatever were the circumstances in which Gadd was written, it falls into the category of manuscripts on paper which were written to serve as exemplars for the promulgation of texts among wealthy *literati*. It was written hurriedly with much abbreviation, whereas all its descendants are written on parchment, and could well have been written for use in a book-seller's such as Vespasiano's. Vespasiano's first recorded sale was made in 1442,[40] but Gadd may precede that date. Did it originate in another book-seller's shop, such as Piero Bettucci or Michele Guarducci? If the latter, then Vespasiano could have acquired Gadd while serving as an apprentice, and put it to wide use later as an exemplar in his own shop. Gadd was soon put to use in the production of Ball, and its later use seems to fall into two periods: around 1460 for Fes, Laur.3 and Dresd.1, and around 1470 for Bon, Pier, Urb and Yal. Vespasiano's role in disseminating texts of the *Academicus Primus* was not restricted to the manuscripts just discussed: we have already seen his connection with Ged, and

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[38] S. Rizzo, *La tradizione manoscritta della Pro Cluentio di Cicerone*, Genoa, 1979, 65.
[39] As Schmidt, 330, pointed out.
[40] De la Mare, *Vespasiano* I 16.

the presence of two texts of the work in Bon leads us directly into another Florentine group.

d. *Vespasiano again*

The next family which descended directly from Conv at Florence consists of five manuscripts which Plasberg placed in κ, and another of which he was unaware.[41] Part of this family also came from the bookshop of Vespasiano, and it is to this part of the tradition that Bon(1) belongs.[42]

The readings of secondary origin which typify this family consist of:

1,3 (2.4)	*et* om.
2,8 (4.10)	*in* om.
3,10 (5.8)	*non* om.
5,21 (9.24)	*ergo* for *enim*
12,43 (18.19)	*ab* for *at ab*

Further common readings in error, including one omission, are shared with other manuscripts; all such errors, which are not the result of contamination, involve single words only.

Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Auct. F.1.12 (= *Bodl.1*)

Sources: *Catalogi*, I 1,129; Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca* I 657; Oxford, 7; Deschamps, 142; Madvig, xiv; Schenkl, 164 no. 803; Dougan, xlii; F. Madan and H.H.E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1922, IV 397 no. 2497; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xvii n. 6, 126; Pease, *Div* 611, *Nat* 72–3; de la Mare, *Vespasiano* II 388, 453 and 544; Schmidt, 315–6; Reynolds, 30 n. 96. Collated from ms.; seen 22 April 1980.

Characteristics: parchment; iii (paper) + ii + 317 + i (paper) fols.; 379 × 260 mm.; 36 lines; Florence; 1459; one hand: humanistic script; gold initials with white vine-stems, interstices in pink, blue

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[41] A seventh member of the family may once have existed; evidence for such a possibility is discussed later in this section.

[42] Described on pp. 130–1.

and green on a blue base; vertical catchwords; quinions; former shelf-marks: Bod. 657, Super A Arts ms. 2.

Contents: 1. *Off*, 2. *Sen*, 3. *Am*, 4. *Parad*, 5. *Somn*, 6. *Tusc*, 7. *Fin*, 8. *Ac1* 194ᵛ–199ᵛ,/ 9. *Nat*, 10. *Div*, 11. *Fat*, 12. *Leg*, 13. *Tim.*

Inscription: *M.T. Ciceronis de finibus bonorum et malorum liber quintus et ultimus finit. Incipit eiusdem achademicorum liber.*

History: A colophon on fol. iiᵛ, possibly in the hand of Gherardo del Ciriago, suggests that Bodl.1 was a stock-book in Vespasiano's bookshop: *Istud volumen scriptum et compositum fuit opera Vespasiani Librarii florentini. In civitate Florentie. de Anno 1459.* The copyist has been identified by Professor de la Mare[43] as Dominicus Cassii de Narnia, who was active at Florence between 1442 and 1459, and the decorator is the same as for Ged. Such few marginalia as appear in Bodl.1 (not in *Ac1*) have been identified, again by Professor de la Mare, as by Jean Jouffroy (1412–1473), Bishop of Arras from 1453, cardinal from 1461, Archbishop of Albi from 1462, and Abbot of St. Denis from 1464. Jouffroy, who is known to have been a customer of Vespasiano, studied at Cologne and Pavia, attended the Councils of Basle and Ferrara, and left his Cicero to St. Denis.[44] The name 'John Doson' appears on fol. iiᵛ and has been described by Madan and Craster as being in a late 15th-century hand, but nothing is known of him. The name of a previous owner has been erased on fol. 317ʳ and replaced by the earliest known owner of Bodl.1, William de Melton (1455–1528), Chancellor of York. Bodl.1 later belonged to Sir Henry Savile (1549–1622), Provost of Eton, and was given by him to the Bodleian in 1620.[45] A note on the front fly-leaf reveals that Bodl.1 was collated by Thomas Hearne: *Codicem hunc cum Editione Gronovii in 4to contuli. Tho: Hearne. Martii 17. 1708/9.* It was Hearne's collation which was later used in the Oxford edition of Cicero's works of 1783.

Use: E—Oxford; in κ—Plasberg; Bodl—Schmidt (*Leg*).

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[43] In Schmidt, 434.

[44] For Jouffroy, see *LThK* 5 (1960), 1034; *Enciclopedia Cattolica* 7 (1949), 594; C. Fierville, *Le cardinal Jean Jouffroy et son temps*, Paris, 1874, 224–33.

[45] For further information, see Sir Wasey Sterry, *The Eton College Register 1441–1698*, Eton, 1943, 297.

Oxford, Bodleian Libr., D'Orville 84 (= *Bodl.2*)

Sources: Schenkl, 32 no. 134; F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1897, II 1, 59 no. 16962. Collated from ms.; seen 22–3 April 1980.

Characteristics: parchment; ii (paper) + i + 107 + ii fols.; 243 × 162 mm.; 30 lines; Florence; mid-15th cent.; one hand: humanistic script; spaces left for initials everywhere except fol. 1^r: monochrome initial and vine-stem in same ink as text; one marginal Greek word; horizontal catchwords; quinions; former shelf-mark: Auct. X. 1.3.25.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* (1.1–8.17, and 10.18–end) 98^v–106^r.

Inscription: *Flamentum academicorum quod reperitur.*

History: Unidentified initials 'G.V.' surmounted by a cross on fol. 1^r. Acquired by Jacques Philippe D'Orville (1696–1751) and bequeathed to his son Jean (born 1734). Brought to London and passed to his son, also Jean, and sold to J. Cleaver Banks. Bought by the Bodleian, probably in 1804.

Use: never collated before.

München, Bayerische Staatsbibl., Clm 328 (= *Mon.1*)

Sources: Goerenz, v; Madvig, xv and xxii–xxiii; Munich, 83; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Schmidt, 332 n. 12. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 25 August 1981.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 105 + i fols.; 250 × 177 mm.; 28 lines; Florence; 1st half 15th cent.; one hand: humanistic script; space left for initials, except initial on fol. 1^r in gold with white vine-stems, interstices in pink, blue and green; vertical catchwords; quinions; previous shelf-mark: Sta 8 8° 38.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 97^r–105^r.

Inscription: *NB est Academicarum Quest. L.I.* (in margin by 18th cent. hand).

Subscription: (96^v) *M.T. Ciceronis Sextus sequitur. Quintus explicit feliciter.* (105^r) *Non plus reperitur hic deficit et pars etiam penultimi. M.T. Ciceronis de finibus bonorum et malorum feliciter explicit.*

History: Nothing is known of Mon.1 before its arrival at Munich, An owner's name has been erased on fol. i^v, and a book-plate on the front fly-leaf reads: *EX ELECTORALI BIBLIOTHECA SERENISS. UTRIUSQUE BAVARIAE DUCUM.* A note on fol. i^r by F. Oesselius is dated 1746; it is this hand which supplied the missing title of *Ac1.* Mon.1 is described by Ignaz Hardt (1749–1811) in his manuscript catalogue, München, Bay. Staatsbibl., Cbm Cat. 65, vol. 2; but no attempt is made to suggest its provenance. A large part of the collection at Munich came from Dr. Hartmann Schedel (1440–1514) of Nürnberg, a doctor and humanist, who studied at Padua between 1463 and 1466 (see *ADB* 30 (1890) 661–2), and it should be noted that he seems to have owned two copies of *Fin*:[46]

1. *Libri Tusculanarum questionum, de divinatione, de natura deorum. Libri Tullii de finibus bonorum et malorum (in 1 ms.).*
2. *Cicero in Tusculano suo; de legibus, academicarum quaestionum, de natura deorum, de divinatione, de finibus bonorum et malorum, de petitione consulatus, de fato et de somnio scipionis . . .*

No copies of *Fin* at Munich are known to have belonged to Schedel;[47] whatever may have constituted the first manuscript listed above, could it possibly be Mon.1? If so, then Mon.1 would appear not to conform to the observation of E.P. Goldschmidt, that of 'Schedel's 350 mss. now at Munich, probably nearly half are written in his own beautifully clear calligraphic hand',[48] for Mon.1 shows all the characteristics of a Florentine manuscript, produced earlier than the 1460s.

Use: in κ—Plasberg; M—Madvig (*Fin*). The last two books of *Fin* were collated by Hardt for Goerenz.[49]

Paris, Bibl. Nationale, Lat. 17154 (= *Par*)

Sources: Livorno, 635 no. 59; de Bure, II 26–8; L. Delisle, 'Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Notre-Dame et d'autres fonds', *Bibliothèque*

[46] According to P. Ruf, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, Munich, III iii, 1939, 811.
[47] R. Stauber, *Die Schedelsche Bibliothek*, Freiburg-in-Breisgau, 1908, does not equate either of these mss. with Mon.1.
[48] E.P. Goldschmidt, 'Hieronymus Muenzer and Other Fifteenth Century Bibliophiles', *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 14 (1938), 503.
[49] According to a note attached to Mon. 1 by Fr. Xav. Werfer, dated 1812.

de l'Ecole des Chartes 31 (1870), 491; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Pease, *Nat* 80; Schmidt, 268–72; Samaran & Marichal, III 745; Rizzo, 113–4; *Texts*, 84 n and 102 n. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 28–9.12.1977 and 5 January 1979.

Characteristics: parchment; v (paper) + 488 + iv fols.; 432 × 296 mm.; 2 cols. of 73 mm.; 70 lines; Italy; 15th cent.; 2 hands: gothico-humanistic script; initials decorated with white vine-stems, interstices in pink, blue, green and dark red; unknown device (or, two bends azure, the letter 'R' in sinister canton) on fols. 1ʳ (surmounted by negro's head) and 155ʳ (three bends azure); horizontal catchwords; quinions; former shelf-marks: No. 2243, Lavall 96°.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Nat*,/ 2. *Div*, 3. *Tim*, 4. *Fat*, 5. *Tusc*, 6. *Fin*, 7. *Leg*, 8. *Ac1* 107ʳ–109ᵛ, 9. *Luc* to 12,38,/ 10. *Off*, 11. *Sen*, 12. *Parad*, 13. *Am*, 14. *Pet*, 15. *Somn*,/ (hand 2) 16. *Her*, 17. *Inv*, 18. *Part*, 19. *Orat*, 20. *Brut*,/ 21. *De Orat*, 22. *Phil*, (hand 1) 23. *Verr*,/ (hand 2) 24. *Post*, 25. *Perd*, 26. *Amer*, 27. *Agr*, 28. *Piso*, 29. *Caec*, 30. *Catil*, 31. *Vat*, 32. Ps. Sallust, *Invectivae in Ciceronem*, 33. *Sall*, 34. *Exil*, 35. *Dom*, 36. *Senat*, 37. *Quir*, 38. *Har*, 39. *Prov*, 40. *Cael*, 41. *Balb*, 42. *Sest*, 43. *Marc*, 44. *Lig*, 45. *Quir* (bis), 46. *Deiot*, 47. *Milo*, 48. *Lig* (bis), 49. *Planc*, 50. *Com*, 51. *Cluent*, 52. *Sull*, 53. *Mur*, 54. *Arch*, 55. *Opt*, 56. *Top*, 57. *Diff*, 58. *Syn*, 59. *Man*, 60. *Flacc*.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS DE ACADEMICIS PRIMUS LIBER INCIPIT.*

Subscription: *MTC DE ACAD LIBER I EXPLIC.*

History: Par is the largest volume to contain *Ac1*, both in number of leaves and physical dimensions, and may well consist of two originally separate books: the first, up to fol. 153, contains Cicero's philosophical works and the second, from fol. 155, contains rhetorical works and orations. The presence of the same arms on fols. 1ʳ and 155ʳ, albeit with slight differences, suggests that the two parts of Par were written for the same client and may, as Schmidt thinks, constitute an early attempt at a collected edition of the works of Cicero.[50] The presence of the *Brutus* indicates that Par was written after 1421, when that work was re-discovered, but the absence of the *Pro Fonteio*, which came to light in 1426, does not necessarily

[50] Schmidt suggested that a third volume, containing the letters, may have accompanied the two parts of Par.

point to a five-year span during which Par was written, as Schmidt believes. Elsewhere Schmidt implies that Par was produced in Vespasiano's bookshop;[51] but the date 1421–6 would be too early for Vespasiano. Indeed Professor de la Mare *apud* Rizzo prefers a dating in the second quarter of the 15th century and absolutely excludes Florence as the origin of Par, as does Rizzo herself, preferring Milan, or even Bologna or Rome. Furthermore, Rizzo sees no foundation for Schmidt's hypothesis that the first owner of Par was Nicholas of Kues. The earliest known owner of Par was Achilles Vicecomes, an unknown member of the Visconti family, whose name appears on fol. 488^r as the compiler of a list of contents.[52] Later, Par is probably no. 59 in the collection of George Jackson, British Consul at Livorno: *Opera omnia* [sc. Ciceronis] *unico contenta volumine.* After Jackson's death in 1763, Par was bought by the Duc de la Vallière (1708–1780), probably in 1775: it does not feature in G. de Bure, *Catalogue des livres provenans de la bibliothèque de M.L. D.D.L.L.*, Paris, 1767, but it is no. 2243 in the 1783 catalogue of his library. Par entered the Bibliothèque Royale in 1784.

Use: in κ—Plasberg; Va—Moser (*Leg*; collated by K.B. Hase); Par. 4—Schmidt (*Leg*); in β—Rizzo (*Cluent*).

Firenze, Bibl. Riccardiana, 513 (= *Ricc.2*)

Sources: G. Lami, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Riccardiana adservantur*, Livorno, 1756, 124; Riccardi, 14; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Schmidt, 332 n. 12. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 1 April 1978.

Characteristics: paper (watermark: Briquet 8968–8970); ii + 161 + ii fols.; 284 × 202 mm.; 32 lines; Florence; mid-15th cent.; one hand: humanistic script; a few superscript corrections by same hand; marginal corrections by second hand in *Fin* and *Tusc*; marginal names and topics by third hand in *Fin* and *Tusc*; gold initials with white vine-stems, interstices in pink and green on a blue base at start of *Fin* and *Tusc*, elsewhere plain blue initials; initial omitted from *Ac1*;

[51] Schmidt, 273 n. 46.

[52] Kristeller, *Iter* I 338, mentions a letter *Ad A. Vicecomitem . . . super nota particula prime epistole L.A. Senece iudicium Candidi [Decembri] requisitum* in Milano, Bibl. Ambros., O 124 sup., 123^r–126^v.

unidentified arms on fol. 1r (argent, paly gules, in chief a bull gules); horizontal catchwords; quaternions and quinions; former shelf-marks: M II 25, 8 e 10.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 78v–85r,/ 3. *Tusc.*

Subscription: *FINIS* (i.e. of *Fin*).

History: Ricc.2 has the appearance of a Florentine book of the mid-15th century, although the arms on fol. 1r are not found in the compendium of arms of Florentine families contained in Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Ital. d. 25 (formerly Phillipps ms. 6025). The watermarks found in Ricc.2 consist of a cross on the middle of three mountain-tops on the outside of each gathering, and a capital 'R', found only twice in inside sheets. While the former is widely reported in Italy at this time, the latter is distributed as follows: 8968—Florence 1410, Lucca 1414, Pistoia 1414–23; 8969—Palermo 1417; 8970—Colle 1427, Lucca 1439, Venice 1449, Naples 1453. Ricc.2 was collated by Lagomarsini on 20 March 1745 and numbered IV 103.

Use: in κ—Plasberg.

Within this family Ricc.2 is clearly distinct from the other members: in addition to being the only paper manuscript, it presents some significant readings against the received tradition of the family, including the following omissions: *post* at 2,8 (4.9), *ista* at 3,9 (4.18), *non sus* at 5,18 (8.17), *qui tum appellarentur alios Peripateticos* at 6,22 (10.7–8), *sed* at 7,27 (12.12), *tam* at 10,37 (15.32), and *immoderatam* at 10,39 (16.23–4). The remaining five members of the family collectively show a similar number of errors, including the following omissions: *nihil partiuntur* at 2,5 (2.32), *vir* at 4,13 (6.15), *eaque ab his* at 5,20 (9.14),[53] *Nos vero . . . cum voles* at 7,25 (11.11–13), *igitur* at 10,35 (15.17), and *cum* at 12,46 (20.7).

The sub-group of five manuscripts divides into two traditions: Bodl.2 and Par against Bodl.1, Bon(1) and Mon.1. The former tradition presents only six readings of secondary origin, including *divitiarum* for *divinarum* at 3,9 (4.24–5), *aliquid in eo . . . quod efficeretur* om. at 6,24 (11.2–3), *nationem* for *notiones* at 11,42 (18,7), and *ea* for *omnia* at 11,42 (18.11). Neither Bodl.2 nor Par is the parent of the other, for they

[53] Except Bodl.2, which now lacks 5,18 (8.17) to 6,23 (10.17).

both present further readings in error of their own; Bodl.2 appears to have been lightly interpolated, while Par was copied less carefully.

The latter tradition, on the other hand, presents over forty readings in error, including the striking addition <*instituisset vel*> *reliquisset* at 4,17 (7.28). Bodl.1 is the only member to present any omissions, ten in number, together with another forty readings of secondary origin, but Bon(1) and Mon.1 both present readings in error of their own and may not be in a parental position to Bodl.1. Mon.1, for example, presents over twenty readings in error, including additions and transpositions, which are not found in Bodl.1 or Bon(1), while Bon(1) has no additions or transpositions of its own, and only thirteen readings against the received text in total. Bodl.1, Bon(1) and Mon.1 appear to descend independently from a common exemplar; while Bon(1) and Mon.1, because of the nature and small number of their errors, probably descend immediately, and Bodl.1 is altogether more prone to error and may be descended through an intermediary. Evidence which may support this possibility is provided by Goerenz in his edition of the *De Legibus*, *Academicus Primus* and *Lucullus*. Among the textual sources which he cited for his edition he included the following:[54]

> *Basileensis collationem exemplo Aldinae 1565. cui appicta est, debemus, a Wegelio nescio quo, cuius haec in fine libri adiecta verba sunt, excerpsi Wegelius in bibl. Bas. 1698. Idem eodem in exemplo binorum codicum varietates ad libros de Finibus, totidemque ad Tusculanas Dispp. adscripsit.*

Analysis of the readings reported by Goerenz suggests that the manuscript source used by Wegelius for the *Academicus Primus* was closely related to Bodl.1, and certainly a member of this group as a whole. Relevant agreements in error include:

2,5 (3.1)	*dialecticorum* <*imbuti*> Bas[55] Bodl.1
9,33 (14.22–3)	*amplexus* Bas Bodl.1 Bodl.2 Bon(1) Mon.1 Par Ricc.2 for *amplexatus*
10,38 (16.9)	*virtutis* Bas Bodl.1 Bon(1) Mon.1 for *virtutum*
11,40 (17.10)	*accepta* <*a*> Bas Bodl.1 Bodl.2 Bon(1) Mon.1 Par

[54] Goerenz, vii.

[55] = *Basileensis Goerenzii.* Bas represents the original manuscript from which Wegelius applied readings to the printed editions.

In addition *perculsus* is read for *percussus* at 3,11 (5.20–1) together with Bodl.1, Bon(1), Mon.1 and another family of *deteriores*, and *primum* is reported for *primam* at 5,19 (9.1) with Γ, and Bodl.1 and Ricc.2 alone of the *deteriores*.

There seems little doubt that Bas belongs not only to this family of manuscripts as a whole, but to the tradition of Bodl.1, Bon(1) and Mon.1 in particular. The addition <*imbuti*> at 2,5 (3.1) is significant and suggests that Bas is closely related to Bodl.1. Bodl.1 is not the parent of Bas, for Bas, as reported by Goerenz, does not follow Bodl.1 in any of its omissions; nor was Bas the parent of Bodl.1, for Bas makes the following omissions which are not presented by Bodl.1:[56] *ad*^{2} at 5,21 (10.2), *quandam* at 6,24 (11.8), *hic* at 10,38 (16.17), and *illum* at 12,46 (20.6). We are thus guided to the conclusion that Bas and Bodl.1 were brother-manuscripts; but there are problems in such a conclusion. Firstly, the accuracy of Goerenz' apparatus has been severely questioned since Madvig, who accused him of unsystematically excerpting manuscript readings which pleased him, of omitting excellent and noteworthy readings, of incompleteness and inaccuracy in reporting readings, of changing the identity of manuscripts in which certain readings were found, and of inventing readings.[57] In his reported readings towards the text of the *Academicus Primus* I have found many instances of silence where readings typical of a witness such as Bas would have been expected: readings of the *deteriores* as a whole are not reported for Bas, nor are the readings which typify Bodl.1, Bon(1) and Mon.1.[58] Some readings are imputed to Bas which are generally found in printed editions of the 16th century and only in isolated manuscripts. The overall impression gained from Goerenz' handling of the text of the *Academicus Primus* is one of a confusion of the mass of data which he had to hand; very often readings which he reports are actually found in manuscript sources, but not in those manuscripts which he claimed to have collated. Furthermore, readings which he claimed to have been taken from the annotations of Wegelius seem to be simply the readings presented in the text of Manutius' 1565 edition, on which the annotations were said to have

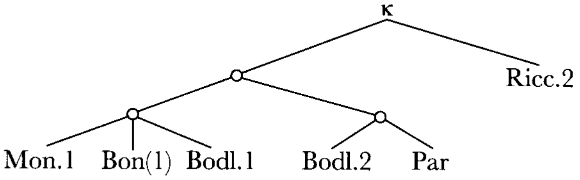
[56] Equally, Bas and Bodl.1 are not one and the same: both make different omissions and other errors, and Bodl.1 was already installed at Oxford in 1620, and the readings of Bas were not applied until 1698 at Basle.

[57] Madvig, xv–xvi.

[58] It should be noted that the readings of an extant manuscript (Wash=Uff) are reported erroneously on several occasions.

been made. The whole story of Wegelius is mysterious: Madvig enquired at Leipzig and Zwickau without success,[59] and my own enquiries at Basle could not even unearth anyone there at that time whose name would be Latinised at 'Wegelius'.[60] In spite of Madvig's assertions, the enigmatic story of Wegelius' annotations seems unlikely to have been an invention, for some of the readings which Goerenz reported in Bas are found somewhat systematically in Bodl.1, and Wegelius' annotations were found in three works (*Tusculanae Disputationes, De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus*) which constitute the whole of Ricc.2 and are found in that sequence in Bodl.1 and Bon.[61]

The second objection to a conclusion that Bas and Bodl.1 were brother-manuscripts is provided by the historical evidence of the copying of Bodl.1 and Bon. Both were products of the bookshop of Vespasiano da Bisticci: Bodl.1 was a stock-book and Bon was commissioned. If the shared addition of <*imbuti*> at 2,5 (3.1) in Bas and Bodl.1 originated in their common parent, then we should have to posit two generations of this family in Vespasiano's bookshop: Bon and the parent of Bas and Bodl.1, and Bas and Bodl.1 themselves. If this were so, then we should expect Bas and Mon.1, perhaps, to have originated with Vespasiano as well; but Mon.1 is not typical of the output of Vespasiano which we have seen with the copies of Gadd, as it consists of only two works found in the copies of Gadd. Bas also, we surmise, consisted of only three works. Without the evidence of Bas we would posit a stemma as follows:

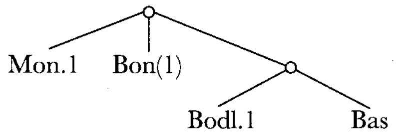


[59] Goerenz was a student and later professor at Halle, rector of the Lyceum at Plauen, and then at Zwickau, and finally rector of the gymnasium at Schwerin; see *ADB* 9 (1879), 393.

[60] The closest fit suggested to me by Dr. Martin Steinmann of the Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität Basel was the Wegelin family of St. Gall; but, as he pointed out, their name would be Latinised as 'Wegelinus'. There is, of course, no manuscript of *Ac1* at Basle.

[61] On the other hand, it should be noted that *Fin* and *Ac1* occur more often, especially among the *deteriores*, with *Tusc* than with any other work. Indeed these three works form the whole contents of no fewer than five mss. (Mon.2, Pal.2, Lucc, Burn and Ricc.2) and are found together in 18 mss.

Such a stemma would require that only the parent of Bon(1), Mon.1 and Bodl.1 serve as an exemplar in Vespasiano's bookshop between the known dates of 1459 (copying of Bodl.1) and 1465–70 (Bon), in addition to Gadd, which was available to Vespasiano's copyists from the late 1440s (Ball) until the early 1470s (Urb). With the evidence of Bas, however, the immediate stemma would be:



This stemma would imply that Vespasiano possessed, or had access to, the parent of this corner of the tradition until 1465–70 (copying of Bon) and of an apograph in 1459 (Bodl.1), as well as Gadd. While the existence of two texts of the *Academicus Primus*, one disguised as a sixth book of the *De Finibus*, in Bon is proof that Vespasiano had at his disposal two manuscripts (Mon.1 also identifies the text of the *Academicus Primus* as book six of the *De Finibus*), there would seem little justification for a third, where the work was correctly identified, unless the parent of Bon(1) and Mon.1 belonged to an acquaintance of Vespasiano and was borrowed by him when required—some time prior to 1459 for the copying of the parent of Bas and Bodl.1, as well as Mon.1, and in the late 1460s for Bon. In this case the attested practice of disposing of the exemplar and keeping the apograph would not apply.

κ contained at least the *De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus*. The presence of the *Tusculanae Disputationes* in the parent of Bodl.1 and Bon, and in Par may well be due to the nature of these manuscripts as large volumes of collected works of Cicero rather than its presence in κ itself, but its presence in Ricc.2 is less understandable, unless it was also in κ; only a collation of the texts of the *Tusculanae Disputationes* will resolve this issue. It does seem certain, however, that the *Academicus Primus* was identified as a sixth book of the *De Finibus*.

e. *Zomino da Pistoia (Sozomenus)*

This family consists of two manuscripts, of which one was collated by Reid and has been known to subsequent editors only through

him, and the other has never been studied before. The former was placed by Plasberg among the *incerti*—not surprisingly in view of the scantily reported readings in Reid. The members of the family show only eight readings of secondary origin in common against the tradition of Conv, although there would certainly be more if the last third of the *Academicus Primus* had not been lost from one of them. As it is, the evidence for a common grouping is as follows:

1,2 (1.14)	*amicus* for *Atticus*
2,6 (3.9)	*est* om.
2,8 (4.8)	*me eorum* for *meorum*
3,9 (4.21)	*autem* for *aetatem*
3,10 (5.7–8)	*philosophos non legant* om.
7,25 (11.14)	*satis* for *sane*
7,26 (12.2–5)	*variae sunt . . . autem ortae* om.
7,27 (12.15–16)	*affecta* for *effecta*

From 7,28 (12.22) only one manuscript now presents the text.

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibl., Diez B. Santen 74 (= *Berl*)

Sources: Livorno, 637 no. 69; de Bure, II 35–6; *Catalogue des livres de M. Pierre-Antoine Bolongara-Crevenna*, Amsterdam, 1789, II 44; *Biblioteca Santeniana*, Leyden, 1800, 112 no. 15. Microfilm of *Ac1* only.

Characteristics: parchment; 92 fols.; 260 × 180 mm.; 32 lines; Italy; ca. 1430; two hands: humanistic rotunda with some Gothic features; marginal notes by first hand and names by a second hand; space left for initials; rubric inscriptions; superscript variants by first hand; chapters marked in margin; horizontal catchwords; quaternions.

Contents: 1. *Tusc*, 2. *Tim*, 3. *Ac1* 85^r–92^v.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM DE ACADEMICIS* (a second hand has added *De Achademicis modicum quod reperitur*).

Subscription: *Non reperitur plus.*

History: Professor de la Mare dates Berl to about 1430. A firm reconstruction of its whereabouts is possible only from the mid-18th century. Berl appears, together with Par, in the catalogue of books

of George Jackson;[62] it passed from his son to the Duc de la Vallière in 1775,[63] and appears as no. 2262 in the catalogue of his books made by de Bure in 1783. La Vallière's books were sold in 1784, and Berl was bought for Pietro-Antonio Bolongara-Crevenna (1735–1792) and appears as no. 1536 in the sale of his books on 26 April 1790. The next known owner was Laurens van Santen of Leiden, in the sale catalogue of whose books *Tim* was called *De Fato*. Berl was then bought by Heinrich Friedrich von Diez (1751–1817), who left his library of 835 mss. to the Königliche Preussische Staatsbibliothek (see J.A. von Reiswitz in *NDB* 3 (1957) 712–3). So much is known for certain about Berl; of its earlier history we may make some calculated conjectures. Over 200 of Jackson's manuscripts came from the collections of the Medici and Sozomenus (1387–1458); a particular feature of the collection of la Vallière, according to de Bure, was the number of manuscripts which had belonged to Sozomenus. No manuscript of the works contained in Berl is listed in the 1460 inventory; among the 116 mss in the inventory (published in F.A. Zaccaria, *Biblioteca Pistoriensis*, Turin. 1752) are 17 of Cicero, but the only one which could fit Berl is no. 27, of parchment, containing *Tusc*, which has been identified as Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsénal 724, by R. Sabbadini, 'La biblioteca di Zomino da Pistoia' *RF* 45 (1917) 205. Originally Sozomenus' library is believed to have consisted of over 200 mss.; after his death they passed to the Opera di San Jacopo at Pistoia, and in 1730 entered the Pia Casa di Sapienza, later the Biblioteca Forteguerriana; a number of others entered the collection of Edward Harley in 1725 and then joined Jackson's collection. Is it likely that Berl followed this path? If so, in view of the date of its copying, Berl is likely to have been acquired by Sozomenus at Florence, where he lived from 1413.

Use: first time collated.

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[62] Only *Tusc* is listed, but the ms. is described: *Codex summi nitoris cum prima littera auro, floribus, et imagine instructa, ceteris vero initialibus auro pariter, et coloribus illuminatis. in 4*. That this is Berl is accepted by Dr. U. Winter of the Staatsbibliothek.

[63] See M. Parenti, *Aggiunte al Dizionario Bio-bibliografico dei Bibliotecari e Bibliofili Italiani di C. Frati*, Florence, 1959, II 165 f.

Vancouver, Univ. of British Columbia, 87–366 (= *Vanc*)

Sources: Sotheby & Co., Sale Catalogue, 19 July 1860, lot 12; Reid, 64; Sotheby & Co., Sale Catalogue, 30 January 1920, lot 46; Plasberg, *Minor* xvii n. 6, 126; Pease, *Div* 613. Photocopy of *Ac1* only.[64]

Characteristics: paper (watermarks: Briquet 6067 and unreported); i + 110 + i fols.; 290 × 180 mm.; 28 lines; N.E. Italy (?); 2/4 or mid-15th cent.; two hands: humanistic script; marginal and superscript corrections and variants by hand of *Ac1*; space left for initial; horizontal catchwords; quinions; former shelf-marks (?): '92' on inside front board, '1820' on front fly-leaf.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Tusc*, (hand 2) 2. *Ac1* (to *et cum* at 7,23 (12.22) with *ita moveatur* as a catchword) 105^r–110^v.

Inscription: *M.T.C. fragmentum de academicis.*

History: While Reid asserted that Vanc is 'not older than the latter half of the xvth century', Professor de la Mare suggests that it was written about the second quarter or middle of the century, perhaps in north-east Italy. The evidence of watermarks is not particularly useful: the 5-pointed star inside a circle on a stand (Briquet 6067) is reported from Perpignan in 1422, and the acorn is not reported by Briquet. Nothing is known of the later history of Vanc until the 19th century. A pencil note on the verso of the front fly-leaf reads 'from the Rev. John Mitford's sale'; John Mitford (1781–1859) was a vicar from East Anglia.[65] His manuscripts were auctioned at Sotheby's in 1860 and sold to Bohn. Vanc was acquired by Henry Ellis Allen (1796–1876) of Dublin and passed to his son, Samuel Allen, and then to his grandson Captain Samuel Allen, who put Vanc up for auction at Sotheby's in 1920, when it was sold to Davies. A bookplate reveals that it was bought by its present owners from Blackwell's bookshop at Oxford on 13 March 1935.

Use: Al.2—Reid; in *incerti*—Plasberg.

Vanc has over forty errors, including nine omissions, which are not found in Berl, while Berl has only one error which is not found in

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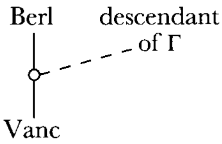
[64] I received a comprehensive description of the manuscript from Mr R. Stokes, Director of the School of Librarianship at Vancouver.

[65] See *DNB* 13 (1921–2) 525–7 [W.P. Courtney].

Vanc: *quasi* for *quadam* at 5,21 (9.31). Vanc was corrected against a member of the P tradition by the copyist himself, and also shows signs of contamination with a descendant of Γ: *hoc* by the first hand for *haec* at 2,4 (2.25), *ista inquam* for *inquam ista* at 3,9 (4.18), <*a*> om. (*recte*) at 3,9 (4.26), *copioseque* for *copiose* at 4,16 (7.11), <*omnibus*> om. (*recte*) at 4,16 (7.20), and *consuetudine* for *consuetudinem* at 4,17 (8.7). A numerically stronger preference for readings of the north-east Italian tradition of Γ is shown in these readings, but it is not possible to be more precise. It seems certain that Vanc is descended from Berl, and contamination appears to have occurred before Vanc was copied and argues for an intermediary, as follows:



Berl presents the same inscription to the *Academicus Primus* as Conv and has the same beginning to the subscription. The contents of the two manuscripts, on the other hand, are different and suggest that the first owner of Berl already possessed the *De Finibus*.[66] As Conv is not known to have ever left Florence, it is likely that Berl was also copied there. If Berl belonged to Sozomenus, and if Vanc comes from north-east Italy, then Sozomenus' earlier connection with Padua could provide the occasion for the migration of this part of the tradition. But it has to be admitted that the link with Sozomenus is tenuous.

f. *Non-Florentine manuscripts*

Two manuscripts, of which one was unknown to Plasberg and the other was placed among the *incerti*, appear to have a common source. These two manuscripts alone show the following agreements in error:

[66] This possibility would probably exclude Sozomenus, for the inventory of his library does not include *Fin*; besides, although he is known to have copied some books himself and to have ordered others, at the time that Berl was copied Sozomenus was differently inclined, for he wrote *melius est emere libros iam scriptos quam scribi facere* on 1 March 1426, quoted by Sabbadini from no. 2297 in the Vallière collection.

1,3 (2.7)	*te* om.
4,17 (7.25)	*quibus* for *qui*
11,39 (16.30)	*quaeque* for *quae quidque*

In addition they show two further errors in common with other, unrelated manuscripts: *comprehenderent* for *comprehenderet* at 11,42 (18.4), and *scire* for *sciri* at 12,44 (19.4).

Roma, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Rossi 559 (= *Ross*)

Sources: Tietze, 81–2 no. 122; H. Geist, *De L. Annaei Senecae Naturalium Quaestionum codicibus*, Bamberg, 1914, 29–30; P. Kehr, 'Aus der Bibliotheca Rossiana', *Neues Archiv* 45 (1924), 105; Badalì, 54; R. Giomini, 'Osservazioni sul testo del "Timeo Ciceronis"', *Helikon* 8 (1968), 30; B.L. Hijmans, 'Two Seneca Manuscripts and a Commentary', *Mnemosyne* 21 (1968), 244 n. 2; J. Fohlen, 'Trois manuscrits parisiens des *Epistulae ad Lucilium* de Sénèque', *RHT* 1 (1971), 89 n. 1, 90, 91 n. 5; E. Pellegrin, 'Quelques accessus au *De Amicitia* de Cicéron', *Hommages à André Boutemy*, Brussels, 1976, 286–8; Rouse & Rouse, 341 n. 24; Fohlen, 463–7; Reynolds, 28. Collated from ms.; seen 3–5 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; v (paper) + 454 + v (paper) fols.; 345 × 235 mm.; 2 cols. of 68 mm; 53 lines; Italy; 14th–15th cent,; five hands: 1–2 gothic, 3–4 humanist, 5. gothic; blue/green initials on gold with acanthus leaf pattern in pink, blue, green and yellow; blue initial on gold and yellow base with red, green and pink decorations; marginal chapter numbers in pencil; catchwords; gatherings of 12 sheets; former shelf-mark: IX 249 (Lainz).

Contents: (hand 1) 1. Hieronymus Presbyter, *Vita Senecae*, 2. Ps.-Seneca, *Epistulae ad Paulum*, 3. *Epitaphium Senecae* (Anthol. Lat. I 667), 4a. Seneca, *Epistulae ad Lucilium*,/ (hand 2) 4b. *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, 5. idem, *Naturales Quaestiones*, 6. idem, *De Clementia*, 7. idem, *De Providentia*, 8. idem, *De Constantia Sapientis*, 9. idem, *De Vita Beata*, 10. idem, *De Otio*, 11. idem, *De Tranquillitate Animi*, 12. idem, *De Brevitate Vitae*, 13. idem, *Consolatio ad Polybium*, 14. idem, *Consolatio ad Helviam*, 15. idem, *Consolatio ad Marciam*, 16. idem, *De Remediis Fortuitorum*, 17. Martin of Braga, *Formula Vitae Honestae*, 18. Ps.-Seneca, *Liber De Moribus*, 19. Ps.-Aristotle, *Aenigmata*, 20. Ps.-Seneca, *Epistula II ad Paulum* (extract), 21. Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae*, 22. Ps.-Seneca, *Proverbia*,

23. Seneca, *De Ira*,/ 24. idem, *De Beneficiis*,/ 25. Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae* (excerpts), 26. Silius Italicus, *Punica* VIII 408–11 (added by another hand),/ 27. *Tusc*, 28. *Fat*, 29. Anthol. Lat. 785 (added by another hand), 30. *Off*,/ 31. *Her*, 32. *Inv*, 33. *Part*,/ 34. *Div* (II 56,116–II 60,124 missing), 35. unknown, *Vita Catonis*, 36. *Parad*, 37. *Am*, 38. *Sen*, 39. *Epitaphium Ciceronis* (Anthol. Lat. I 603–9), 40. *Catil*, 41. Ps.-Sallust, *Invectivae in Ciceronem*, 42. *Sall*, 43. *Marc*, 44. *Lig*, 45. *Deiot*, 46. Juvenal, *Satura* X 122–6 (added by another hand), 47a. *Phil*, (hand 3) 47b. *Phil*,/ 48. *Fin*, 49. *Ac1* 383v–387r,/ (hand 4) 50. *Nat*, (hand 2) 51. *Tim*, 52. Macrobius, *Comm. in Somn.*, 53. Boethius, *Consolatio philosophiae*, (hand 5) 54. Freculphus of Lisieux, *Chronicon* II 5,18.

Inscription: *Incipit liber sextus* (later hand).

Subscription: *EXPLICIT.*

History: Opinions on the date of Ross vary: Silvio Tarouca, in the hand-written catalogue at the Vatican, states that the larger part is of the first half of the 14th century, while fols. 327–419 are from the first half of the following century and are written on top of bulls of Martin V (1417–31). Tietze attributes the whole ms. to the second half of the 14th century and locates its origin at Siena; Fohlen follows Tietze on both accounts, and the script is called 'gothico-humanist'. The portion which contains *Ac1* is written in an humanistic script of the 15th century. Ross belonged to Cardinal Domenico Capranica (1400–58), Bishop of Fermo, and appears in the catalogue of the Collegio Capranicense at Rome, made in 1657 and published by Tietze.[67] Capranica was included in Vespasiano's *Lives* and probably acquired some of his books (357 in the 1657 catalogue) from him. Capranica was sent to Siena by Martin V in 1424 and later attended the Council of Basle with Enea Silvio Piccolomini (a native of Siena) and the Council of Ferrara, at both of which he had books copied for himself. Tietze makes the point that a considerable number of Capranica's books were copied for him specially,[68] which would mean that Ross was copied after 1424, and Tarouca states that notes on

[67] Tietze, xii. Ross is not included, however, among the manuscripts in Capranica's library described by A.V. Antonovics, 'The Library of Cardinal Domenico Capranica' in Clough, 141–59, unless it was included under the works of Seneca as vol. 301 *De beneficiis*, described as a *pulcherrimum volumen*, or vol. 303 *Epistolae*, or is represented by vol. 330 *Tusc* etc. in the Ciceronian section. For Capranica, see *DBI* 19 (1976) 147–51 [A.A. Strnad].

[68] Tietze, vii.

the contents page, which point out the works of Cicero which are not included in the manuscript, are by Capranica himself. Ross was one of the books sold to Giovanni Francesco de Rossi in November 1842. After Rossi's death in 1854, his widow entrusted his books, including 1195 mss., to the Society of Jesus at Rome, stipulating that the Emperor of Austria should guarantee their well-being. Rossi's mss. were moved to the Palazzo Venezia in 1873 and to Vienna (Lainz) in 1877. They were returned to Rome after World War I.

Use: Badalì (*Parad*).

Cesena, Bibl. Malatestiana, S.XVIII,1 (= *Ces*)

Sources: Muccioli, II 109–11; A. Hortis, 'M.T. Cicerone nelle opere del Petrarca e del Boccaccio', *Archeografo Triestino* n.s. 6 (1879–80), 109 n. 1; Zazzeri, 401–2; Stroebel, 726; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Pease, *Div* 617, *Nat* 75; Badalì, 49; Schmidt, 345–6. Collated from microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 30 March 1978 and 11 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 355 fols.; 368 × 248 mm.; 34 lines; 2/4 15th cent.; Italy; one hand: humanistic; marginal topics, corrections, additions by first hand in *Tusc, Fin, Nat, Sen, Am, Off, Parad* and *Leg*; gold initials with white vine-stems on blue base with pink and green sections; quinions.

Contents: 1. *Tusc*, 2. *Fin*, 3. *Div* (to II 69,143), 4. *Nat*, 5. *Sen*, 6. *Am*, 7. *Off*, 8. *Parad*, 9. *Ac1* 292^v–298^r, 10. *Luc*, 11. *Leg*, 12. *Tim*, 13. *Fat*.

Inscription: *MARCI TULLIJ CICERONIS DE ACADEMICIS INCIPIT.*

History: Ces is generally agreed to date from the first half of the 15th century—Muccioli believed early in the century, and Schmidt the second quarter. Schmidt locates the origin of Ces at Ferrara, although Professor de la Mare suspects that it may have been written at Rome. It is likely that Ces joined the Bibl. Malatestiana early; most of the library's books were commissioned for it, as is attested by A. Domeniconi, *La biblioteca Malatestiana*, Udine, 1962, 14, specifically for Domenico Malatesta Novello (1418–65).[69]

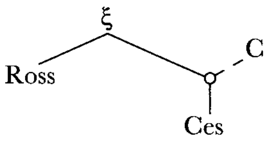
[69] Ces appears in an undated catalogue of the library which was reported by Muccioli, II 284. In this catalogue S. 18,1 and S. 19,1, both containing texts of Cicero, have been transposed in error.

Use: among *incerti*—Plasberg; Ces—Schmidt (*Leg*).

Within this tradition Ross exhibits thirty-three readings in error of its own, including seven omissions, and Ces seventy-five, including ten single-word omissions. Ces also shows signs of contamination: at 2,5 (3.2) Ces reads *etiam*, which is found in Γ and P, for *et*, which is a characteristic of the *deteriores*, and at 12,45 (19.15) Ces reads *assensione* with Γ against *assertione* of P and the *deteriores*. Furthermore, Ces has significant agreements with C and N_2 alone of the Γ tradition, as follows: *suspicamur* for *persequemur* at 2,7 (3.25), *adhuc nemo* for *nemo adhuc* at 2,8 (4.6), *anteponebatur* for *anteponebantur* with C only at 6,23 (10.26–7), *proposita* for *praeposita* at 10,37 (15.31), and *plurimum ab eo* for *ab eo plurimum* with C only at 12,46 (20.7–8). That Ces was contaminated from this source is surely proved by the striking reading of *suspicamur* for *persequemur*, and the further agreements with C alone would appear to point to that manuscript. C, it will be remembered, is a north-east Italian manuscript of the early 15th century, which is housed today under the same roof as Ces. If contamination from C went directly into the text of Ces, then it seems likely that Ces was written in the area of Cesena or Rimini. But the fact that readings taken from C went directly into the text of Ces and not as marginal corrections would argue for an intermediary between Ces and the archetype of this small family.

Ross has been generally accepted as coming from Siena, although it is not clear on what grounds; one presumes that Capranica's visit there and his connection with the Sienese Piccolomini were seized upon by Tietze in this regard. The archetype of Ross and Ces (ξ), had relatively few errors and was surely a direct copy of Conv, which is not known to have left Florence. In view of the lack of geographical compatibility between Ross and Ces, and the known book-collecting habits of Capranica, we might be justified in positing the movement of the archetype of this family from Florence, where it was written, to the Council of Basle or Ferrara, where Ross and Ces or its parent were written by copyists from different parts of Italy. Thus the stemma of this family may be represented as follows:[70]

[70] When I was first made aware of Ross, with its collection of Senecan as well as Ciceronian works, an ascription to the 14th century, and an inscription to *Ac1* as *liber sextus* [sc. *De finibus*], I hoped that Ross would prove to be the missing link between Amst and Conv, i.e. Plasberg's ω. But the internal evidence of *Ac1*, at any rate, renders such a hope completely groundless; it is clearly a descendant of Conv.



For the text of the *De Legibus*, Schmidt has shown that Ces is directly descended from the exemplar of Guarino, which was in turn a copy of Poggio's exemplar.[71]

2. North-east Italian Descendants of Conv

The existence of a group of manuscripts which are related beneath Conv and originate in north-east Italy seems to have been unsuspected by Plasberg. Indeed, it would be fair to say that it was this group which caused him most difficulty: of the ten manuscripts which make up the group, he correctly identified three in the same family, but missed the fourth; he placed one in a totally unrelated family, and located the other four of which he was aware among the *incerti*, which he felt unable to assign to a family because of their contaminated or confused tradition; the tenth, although housed in a German university, he missed.

The readings which are found only in members of this group are:

2,8 (4.6–7)	*studium* for *studiosi*
5,19 (9.10)	*etiam* for *aliquam*
5,20 (9.23)	*omninoque* for *omniumque*
11,41 (17.20)	*nomen etiam* for *etiam nomen*

The small number of agreements in error and the lack of any common omissions suggest that the archetype of the group (ψ) is a direct copy of Conv; a further characteristic of two members of the group provides eloquent support for such a theory.

[71] Schmidt, 349–53.

a. *A north-east Italian and Roman family*

This family of four manuscripts consists of the three which constituted Plasberg's η and a fourth, which he placed among the *incerti*. The characteristic readings of the family include:

1,3 (2.4)	*quidem* om.
2,8 (4.9)	*ac* <*ne*>
4,17 (8.4)	*certam* om.
5,21 (9.28)	*adiumenta* for *adiuncta*
6,24 (11.2–3)	*efficeret vim . . . autem quod* om.
7,26 (12.7)	*elementa* om.
10,37 (16.3)	*operationibus* for *actionibus*
11,41 (17.17)	*catalempton* om.

Several other distinctive readings in error are shared with other manuscripts and will be discussed later.

Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. Lat. 1984 (= *Ott.3*)

Sources: Plasberg, *Minor* 126; R. Sabbadini, *Carteggio di Giovanni Aurispa* (Fonti per la storia d'Italia 70), Rome, 1931, 184; idem, 'Brevi notizie storiche di classici latini', *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* 100 (1932), 272–3; D. Fava, *Mostra di codici autografici*, Modena, 1932, 33; Ullman, *Origin* 85–6; J.J.G. Alexander and A.C. de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J.R. Abbey*, London, 1969, xxiv n. 1; E. Casamassima in S. Caroti and S. Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Fonzio*, Milan, 1974, xv–xvi and xxix; Pellegrin, 725; A. Franceschini, *Giovanni Aurispa e la sua biblioteca* (IMU 25), Padua, 1976, 49 and Tavola II. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 5 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 184 fols.; 184 × 130 mm.; 23 lines; Constantinople; 1422; two hands: humanistic script; spaces left for titles and initials and for Greek and some Latin words; marginal notes and interlinear corrections in *Fin* only; original Greek binding; catchwords; quaternions; former shelf-marks: S. 6.56, R. 161 (?) Cod. 1B.

Contents: 1. *Fin*,/ 2. *Acl* 168^r–184^r.

Subscription: *Non plura repperi.*

Colophon: (184r) ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου πόλει ἐγράφθη. ἐτελεώθη δὲ ιβ αὐγούστου ἡμέρᾳ, χειρὶ Ἰακώβου Οὐενέτου καὶ τοῦ Αὐρίσπα Σικελοῦ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ χριστοῦ γένεσιν MCCCCXXII.

History: As the colophon reveals, Ott.3 was written in 1422 at Constantinople by Giovanni Aurispa (ca. 1370–1459) and Jacopo Veneto, probably Jacopo Languschi.[72] Aurispa went to Greece in late 1421 to find books for Francesco Gonzaga, and was probably at Constantinople from 1422 until spring 1423, when he returned to Venice. Ott.3 gives the impression that Aurispa was teaching Jacopo to write the *littera antiqua*, for the hands alternate at varying intervals, often almost imperceptibly, Aurispa's hand light and thin, Jacopo's heavy and hesitant. The colophon is by Aurispa. Pellegrin identifies Ott.3 as having belonged to Giovanni Angelo (2nd half 16th cent.–1620), Duke of Altemps (Hohenems in the Tyrol), whose arms are stamped in gold on the cover. Ott.3 stayed in the library of the Altemps family until 1690, when it was sold to Pietro Ottoboni (1610–91), Pope Alexander VIII. The Ottoboni collection was acquired for Pope Benedict XIV in 1748.[73]

Use: in η—Plasberg.

Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibl., Lat. 231 (= *Vind*)

Sources: S. Endlicher, *Catalogus codicum philologicorum latinorum bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis*, Vienna, 1836, 29 no. 58; *Tabulae*, I 32; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; H. Gerstinger, 'Johannes Sambucus als Handschriftensammler', in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Vienna, 1926, 388. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 20 August 1981.

[72] This identification was made by Sabbadini. Jacopo served the curia under Eugenius IV and Nicholas V and corresponded with Florentine humanists such as Traversari, Niccoli and Bruni. For further details, see Sabbadini, 'La polemica fra Porcelio e il Panormita', *RIL* ser. 2 vol. 50 (1917), 495–501. For Aurispa, see *DBI* 4 (1962), 592–5 [E. Bigi].

[73] For Altemps, see *DBI* 2 (1960), 550–1 [A. Merola]. Previous owners of Ott.3 are not known for certain. Altemps is known to have bought the library of Marcellus Cervinus (1501–55), Pope Marcellus II; this library passed to Guglielmo Sirleto (1524–85), but Ott.3 does not appear in the catalogue of Sirleto's books made after his death (see p. 202). For Alexander VIII, see A. Merola, *DBI* 2 (1960), 550–1. For Benedict XIV, see A. Petrucci, *DBI* 2 (1960), 215 ff.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + 41 + i (paper) fols.; 225 × 175 mm.; 44 lines; Italy; 1/4 15th cent.; one hand: mixed gothic and humanistic script; corrections by second hand; marginal notes by two hands; red, red and black, and red and blue initials; spaces left for Greek words; horizontal catchwords; mainly quinions; former shelf-marks: Philol. 209, N 48 Phil (Tengnagel), 425 (Blotius).

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 37^v–41^r.

Inscription: *Marci Tullij Ciceronis fragmentum de Achademicis Incipit.*

Subscription: *Nil amplius reperitur tanta fuit eorum qui nos multis seculis anteierunt negligentia atque inscitia qui suae inertiae utinam praemia digna ferant. Amen.*

History: The overall impression of Vind, which appears to be a palimpsest, is that it was written, probably early in the 15th century, by a copyist who was versed in gothic script, but was trying to adapt to humanistic characters. Professor de la Mare has suggested to me that Vind may be a product of the Curia. Vind is one of the many manuscripts in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek which belonged to Johannes Sambucus or Zsámboky (1531–84). Sambucus travelled extensively in Italy between 1561 and 1563, visiting Naples, Bologna, Milan, Rome, Florence and elsewhere. He acquired mss. which had belonged to Parrasio, Matthias Corvinus, Panormita, Piccolomini, Bessarion and Guarino; he is also known to have acquired a Greek ms. from Fulvio Orsini at Rome in 1563. Sambucus' collection was acquired by Emperor Rudolph II in 1578.

Use: in η—Plasberg; F.C. Alter (*Fin*).[74]

El Escorial, Real Bibl. de San Lorenzo, g.IV.15 (= *Scor.1*)

Sources: Haenel, 941; Antolìn, 291; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Domínguez Bordona, 38 no. 1391; Grubbs, 184; Menéndez y Pelayo, 45 and 218; Schmidt, 375–6. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 18 July 1979.

Characteristics: parchment; ii (paper) + ii + 112 + ii (paper) fols.; 183 × 115 mm.; 22–3 lines; Italy (Rome?); 3/4 15th cent.; one hand:

[74] See Madvig, xix.

humanistic script; gold and red initials with white vine-stems in a Spanish style; speakers marked in rubrics; horizontal and vertical catchwords; quinions; former shelf-marks: 25.37, IIII 773.

Contents: 1. *Leg*,/ 2. *Ac1* 61r–73v, 3. *Somn*,/ 4. *Part.*

Inscription: *ACHADEMIA M.T. CICERONIS UBI DISPUTANT CICERO ATTICUS VARRO.*

History: According to the arms on fol. 1r (with mitre, but not cardinal's hat), Scor.1 was written before 1473 for Pedro González de Mendoza (1428–95), successively Bishop of Calahorra and Siguenza, cardinal from 1473, and Archbishop of Seville and Toledo.[75] Mendoza left his books in 1494 to the Hospital of Santa Cruz at Toledo, which was founded by him. Scor.1 was later in the library of Gaspar de Guzmán (1587–1645), Conde Duque de Olivares, although it is not in the inventory of his books published by G. Marañon, 'La biblioteca del Conde-Duque', *Bol. de la Ac. de la Hist.* 107 (1935), 677 ff. Scor.1 entered the Escorial after the fire of 1671.

Use: among *incerti*—Plasberg; Scor.1—Schmidt (*Leg*); A. d'Ors (*Leg*) without *siglum.*

Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. Lat. 1944 (= *Ott.2*)

Sources: Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca* I 187; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Pease, *Div* 617, *Nat* 78; A. Marucchi, 'Stemmi di possessori di manoscritti conservati nella Biblioteca Vaticana', *Mélanges E. Tisserant* 7 (ST 237), Vatican City, 1964, 58 no. 59 and Tab. XIV 5; J. Ruysschaert, 'Miniaturistes "Romains" sous Pie II', in Maffei, 261 and Tab. 20; Schmidt, 376–7; Pellegrin, 706–7. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 5 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; ii + 198 fols.; 295 × 210 mm.; 30 lines; Rome; 3/4 15th cent.; one hand: humanistic script; spaces left for Greek words; list of contents and marginalia by second hand; other glosses by third hand; titles and speakers' names in rubrics; initials in gold with white vine-stems and interstices of red, blue and

[75] For Mendoza, see *LThK* 7 (1962), 270–1.

green on a blue base; vertical catchwords; quinions; former shelf-marks: S.x. 7, K.II.13.

Contents: 1. *Nat*,/ 2. *Leg*, 3. *Ac1* 103^{r}–110^{v},/ 4. *Top*, 5. *Part*, 6. *Somn*, 7. *Div*.

Inscription: *M.T. Ciceronis Achademica ubi disputant Cicero Atticus et Varro.*

Subscription: *FINIS.*

History: According to the arms on fol. 1^{r} (with bishop's mitre, but not cardinal's hat), Ott.2 was written between 1455 and 1467 for Marco Barbo (d. 1491), Bishop of Treviso from 1455, and of Vicenza from 1464, and a cardinal from 1467.[76] Decorations in Ott.2 are by Giuliano Amadei, who worked at Rome from 1462 for Pietro Barbo (1418–71), Pope Paul II, the uncle of Marco. Marginal glosses have been identified as by Ludovicus Regius of Imola, who worked as a corrector of a press at Rome and edited Cicero's letters in 1490.[77] Ott.2 later belonged to Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (d. 1740), probably from the collection of the Duke of Altemps.

Use: in η—Plasberg; Ott.3—Schmidt (*Leg*).

The family divides into two sub-groups: an older (Ott.3 and Vind) and a younger (Scor.1 and Ott.2). The older sub-group has no omissions and only a dozen errors common to both its members, which mostly seem to originate in abbreviation in the hyparchetype of the family, while the younger sub-group has many errors.

Both Ott.3 and Vind present individual errors which deny the possibility of either being the parent of the other. Vind shows signs of interpolation and has two lengthy omissions (*plenam ac ... quae quidem* at 4,17–18 (8.5–10) and *qualia e quibus ... deum appellant* at 7,28–9 (12.26–13.4)) which accord with the appearance of the text in suggesting that it was hastily copied, whereas Ott.3 is more prone to error, owing to the greater attention paid to the form of the script than to the content of the work; an analysis of the distribution of errors between Aurispa and Languschi will have obvious merit. The errors in Ott.3 relate mainly to single words, including

[76] See *DBI* 6 (1964), 249–52 [G. Gualdo] and Cosenza, V 198.
[77] See Cosenza, V 1519.

ten omissions which are not found in another manuscript; the only longer omissions are of *consedimus omnes* at 4,14 (6.30) and *et tritius materiam* at 7,27 (12.14–15). It seems fairly safe to posit that Ott.3 and Vind were copied directly from the hyparchetype of the family.

The younger sub-group is characterised by over 130 errors, of which thirty are omissions, mostly of single words, but also including the lengthy omissions of *possent nec docti legere* at 2,4 (2.28), *ab Apolline . . . non arbitrari* at 4,16 (7.15–17), *ut aiunt . . . quisquis Minervam* at 5,18 (8.17–18), *Socratem et veluti amantes* at 12,44 (19.2) and *neque profiteri neque affirmare quemquam* at 12,45 (19.14), all due to homoeoteleuton. Ott.2 displays a further sixteen omissions, as well as over seventy other errors, while Scor.1 presents no omissions of its own and such errors as it does present often occur where Ott.2 is also in error. On several occasions the reading in Scor.1 suggests how the reading in Ott.2 came about:

		Received text	Scor.1	Ott.2
1,2	(1.19)	*intemperantis*	*intemperantius*	*intemperantissimus*
2,7	(3.27)	*disserendum*	*dissererunt*	*disserunt*
2,8	(4.12)	*conspersimus*	*consperximus*	*conspeximus*
7,26	(12.9–10)	*e quo*	*aequo*	*a quo*

Most of the other errors in Scor.1 alone are such as the copyist of Ott.2 might reasonably have corrected. There is little evidence for contamination in Ott.2 and its text is so close to Scor.1 that I feel that, as with the *De Legibus*, it is a direct copy.

But there is evidence of contamination in Scor.1 which permeates through to Ott.2: at 5,20 (9.13) Scor.1 and Ott.2 both read *ingenii* with Γ against *ingeniis* of the received tradition; at 4,15 (7.3) Scor.1 and Ott.2 are the only members of the P tradition to present *omnes* against the received *omnibus* (the corrector of another Roman manuscript also made this correction from a known source among the descendants of Γ).[78] Elsewhere there is agreement with two other texts which have a Roman connection.[79] The overall picture which emerges is one of considerable activity among copyists at Rome in the 1460s making available to one another variants and corrections,

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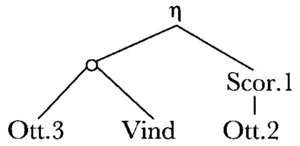
[78] Chis; see pp. 207–8.

[79] Ricc.1, which was at Rome at this time, and Rom, the first printed edition, which was published at Rome in 1471.

possibly orally, thus causing contamination of the tradition on a broad scale without the necessary use of specific manuscripts.

It was presumably Rome which provided the milieu for contact between Pedro González de Mendoza and Marco Barbo, the first owners of Scor.1 and Ott.2. Barbo was called to Rome by Paul II in 1464 and stayed until 1472; Mendoza is likely to have been at Rome earlier, possibly during the pontificate of Callistus III (1455–8), a fellow Spaniard.

It is difficult to estimate how far Scor.1 is removed from the hyparchetype which produced Ott.3 and Vind; textually Scor.1 is considerably more corrupt and it is separated by forty years in time and by a large distance and cultural-political boundaries. For textual purposes the stemma of the family is certainly:



The archetype of the family showed relatively few errors and was near to the source of the *deteriores*; one of the few observations which may be made about it is that spaces were left where Greek words were encountered. This is unique among manuscripts of the *Academicus Primus*; in all others either the equivalent in Roman characters was attempted or the word was omitted entirely or, very rarely, the word was written in Greek characters. These lacunae indicate firstly that the copyist of the archetype knew that the word was Greek (not difficult in two instances where the accompanying text reads *quas . . . Graeci vocant* and *ut e Graeco vertam*), and secondly that there was an expectation that a rubricator or corrector would supply the Greek forms. This was at a time when knowledge of Greek was rare in Italy—some time before 1422—and may point to some individual such as Guarino, whom Schmidt sees as the originator of that part of the *De Legibus* tradition which includes Scor.1 and Ott.2.[80]

The location of the archetype is far from certain: Ott.3 was written at Constantinople and was brought to Venice by Aurispa in late 1423; of Vind, however, we know nothing. Did Aurispa take the

[80] Schmidt, 378.

hyparchetype to Constantinople himself on his mission on behalf of Francesco Gonzaga, or did he find it already there? Whatever route it took, there is a temptation to see Venice, through which most direct contacts between Italy and Constantinople were made, as the home of the archetype. By the 1460s the archetype or, more probably, a descendant had been taken to Rome, where the later subgroup originated.

While the colophon of Ott.3 is remarkable in a Latin manuscript and has drawn the attention of several codicologists, the subscription to the *Academicus Primus* in Vind may be more significant in giving us a clue about the source of the archetype. For it is virtually identical to that found in the parent of the *deteriores* (Conv) and in one other, related manuscript.[81]

b. *A Paduan member*

Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, ex Vienna Lat. 57 (= *Neap.3*)

Sources: *Tabulae*, II 217; Capasso, 589; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; E. Martini, 'Sui codici napoletani restituiti dall'Austria', *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* n.s. 9 (1926), 178; S. Troilo, *Andrea Giuliano*, Geneva and Florence, 1932, 186; M.D. Reeve, 'Statius' *Silvae* in the Fifteenth Century', *Classical Quarterly* 71 (1977), 216. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 7 April 1978. Plate 3 (fol. 62^r).

Characteristics: parchment and paper; iv + 270 + i fols.; 293 × 214 mm.; 35–7 lines; NE Italy (Padua?); 1/2 15th cent.; 33 hands: gothic script; marginal and superscript notes by first and another hand in *Ac1*; plain initials in brown or red; names of speakers preceded by *scilicet* sign above verbs *inquam* and *inquit*; gatherings of sixteen sheets; former shelf-marks: Cod. Recent. no. 296 (on spine), 3160 (on cover).

Contents: (hand 1) 1. Sicco Polentone, *Oratio ad Collegium Doctorum Juristarum Civitatis Paduae*, (hand 2) 2. Basil the Great, *De Studio Librorum Gentilium* (trans. L. Bruni), with date 1414,/ (hand 3) 3. Andrea Giuliano, *Oratio super Principio Orationum M.T. Ciceronis*, 4. idem, *Oratio in Laudem Thomae Mocenigo*, (hand 4) 5. Zaccaria Trevisan, *Oratio in*

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[81] Linc, see p. 176.

Doctorali et Publico Conventu, (hand 5) 6. Andrea Giuliano, *Epistolae ad Manuelem Chrysoloram*, dated 30 November at Florence and 17 June at Padua, 7. Antonio Loschi, *Ad Utrumque Collegium Cardinalium pro Unienda Ecclesia Oratio in Concilio Pisano*, 8. Antonio da Bergamo, *Oratio ad Episcopum Senensem Locumtenentem Bononiae qui postea Papa Eugenius Creatus Est*, 9. idem, *Oratio super Principio Orationum Tullii*, (hand 6) 10. Leonardo Bruni, *De Ciceronis Vita*, (hand 7) 11. Valerius Probus, *De Motis Iuris*,/ (hand 8) 12. *Ac1* 62^r–67^v, (hand 9) 13. *Brut* (1,3–3,10), 14. *Orat* (1,1–2,10),/ (hand 10) 15. *Agr*, 16. *Post*,/ (hand 11) 17. *Piso* (1,1–7–16),/ (hand 12) 18. *Luc*, (hand 13) 19. *Diff*,/ (hand 14) 20. *Syn*,/ (hand 15) 21. Pietro Vergerio il Vecchio, *In Funere Francisci Senioris de Carraria*, dated 21 November 1393 at Padua, (hand 16) 22. Pietro de Alvarotti, *Oratio coram Ruperto Bavariae Duce Romanorum Rege*, dated 20 November 1401 at Padua, 23. Gregory XII, *Littera ad Antipapam*, 24. Morbosanus Turca, *Epistola ad Papam Innocentium IV*, 25. unknown, *Litterae de Destruendo Schismate*, 26. Francesco Gonzaga, *Epistola ad Johannem de Bentivoglio*, dated 15 April 1402 at Mantua, 27. Giovanni Bentivoglio, *Litterae Responsoriae ad Franciscum Gonzagam*, dated 18 April 1402 at Bologna, 28. Gregory XII, *Litterae ad Petrum de Luna*, dated 11 December 1406,/ (hand 17) 29. Francesco Barbaro, *Epistola ad Laurentium Monachum Cancellarium Cretensem*, (hand 18) 30. Niccolo da Bergamo, *Epistola ad Gregorium Lucanum*, dated 1 September 1419 at Padua, 31. idem, *Epistola ad Regem*, (hand 19) 32. Gasparino Barzizza, *Epistola ad Petrum Marcellum Praesulem Patavinum*, dated 1 December 1419 at Padua, 33. Niccolo da Bergamo, *Initium ad Repetitionem in Iure Pontificum*,/ (hand 20) 34. Sicco Polentone, *Epistola de Inventione T. Livii*, 35. idem, *Epistola ad Leonardum Aretinum*, dated 20 April 1419 at Padua, 36. idem, *Conquestio de Combustione Praetorii Patavini*, dated 28 January 1420 at Padua, 37. idem, *Epistola ad Guarinum Veronensem*, dated 29 July 1424 at Padua,/ (hand 21) 38. Antonio Loschi, *Exhortatio ad Ladislaum Regem*,/ (hand 22) 39. Symmachus, *Epistolae*, (hand 23) 40. Ps.-Statius, *Epistola ad Abascantium*, 41. Gasparino Barzizza, *Oratio coram Rege Aragoniae*, 42. idem, *Oratio ad Ducem Mediolani*, 43. idem, *Epistolae*, (hand 24) 44. Donatus, *Vita Vergilii*, 45. Servius, *Commentarii in Vergilii Opera*, (hand 25) 46. Ovid, *Heroides XV*, (hand 26) 47. Giovanni Pergolotti, *Epistolae super Schismata*, 48. unknown, *Litterae Missae per Dominos Florentinos Papae Urbano*, 49. Lentulus, *Epistola de Forma Christi*, 50. 'Pontius Pilate', *Epistola ad Claudium Imperatorem*, 51. Coluccio Salutati, *Epistola ad Priorem SS. Apostolorum*, (hand 27) 52. Martin V, *Papal decrees*, (hand 28) 53. Ferdinand of Aragon, *Epistola ad Sigismundum*, dated 29 May 1415 with a subscription by

Emperor Sigismund,/ (hand 29) 54. Hieronymus Hispanicus, *Pest. Tract.*,/ (hand 30) 55. unknown, *Ad Inveniendos Primos Dies Mensis*,/ (hand 31) 56. Averroes, *Comment. in Aristotelis Poetica*, (hand 32) 57. Lodovicus de Sur, *Purgatorium Sancti Patricii*,/ (hand 33) 58. Petrobonus de Mantua, *De Doctrina Virtutum et Fuga Vitiorum*.[82]

Inscription: *M. Tullii Ciceronis Achademicorum fragmenta quae habentur incipiunt ex primo libro* (the last three and the following words, in another hand, have been crossed out) *ad Hortensium contra vituperatores philosophiae*; the following words, damaged by the cutting of the edge of the folio, have been added in the margin by yet another hand: *ex achademic[is] libris qui fuerunt (?) quin[que], sed haec pars principium primi libri.*

Ex-libris: (254^{v}) *Antonii Seripandi ex Iani Parrhasii testamento.*

History: Neap.3 consists of at least eleven separate parts, divided by type of writing material, relationship of texts, and coincidence of end of gathering with end of work. Of these, five can be approximately dated and located:

Part 1: fols. 1–16	Padua 1414–39
Part 2: fols. 17–61	Padua, Venice, Florence before 1430
Part 4: fols. 146–156 bis	Padua, Bologna, Mantua, Paris 1385(?)–1406
Part 5: fols. 157–185	Padua 1419–24
Part 7: fols. 189–244 bis	Rome(?), Naples(?) 1415–17

Possible dates and locations for part three, the Cicero and Pseudo-Cicero portion, are provided by watermarks:

Ac1	:	Briquet 7684	Padua 1416–20
Brut	:	Briquet 7699	Modena 1487
Orat	:	Briquet 9942	Milan 1449
Agr	:	Briquet 7699	Modena 1487
		Briquet 11685	Treviso 1405
Luc	:	Briquet 4068	Padua 1388
Syn	:	Briquet 11685	Treviso 1405

[82] See Valentinelli, V 71. According to *Tabulae*, II 220, the author was Franciscus Asculensis.

The frequent occurrence of the name Padua suggests that it served as the collection-point for the parts of Neap.3. Furthermore, it seems likely that all the parts of Neap.3 were together by the time that Parrasio owned it, for the ex-libris of Antonio Seripando is near the end of the codex, the contents list on fol. iii^r appears to be in Seripando's hand, and superscript speakers' names in the text of *Ac1* are similar to those found in N_1, another of Parrasio's manuscripts. It is probable that Parrasio acquired Neap.3 during his stay at Padua, after fleeing from Vicenza in 1509 and before his return to Naples in 1511. Parrasio left his books to Seripando in 1521, whence they passed to the convent of S. Giovanni a Carbonara. Neap.3 does not feature in the first inventory of Carbonara mss., which was made by Federicus Metius in 1569–70;[83] nor does it appear in the inventory of 1602 in Vat. Lat. 11310, fols. 25^r–49^v. However, it was included in the 1714 inventory of N. Forlosia as no. 296 of his *Recentes* mss.; it is also probably no. 86 in Cavalcanti's list of 1718, when it was consigned as one of 97 manuscripts which were taken to the Imperial Library at Vienna, as a gift to Emperor Charles V from his Neapolitan ministers. At Vienna the ms. was numbered 3160. It was returned to Naples in 1920 along with such other mss. of the 1718 consignment as could be identified.

Use: among *incerti*—Plasberg.

In addition to demonstrating all the characteristics of the group as a whole, Neap.3 also agrees with η in reading *naturae* for *nostra* at 4,15 (7.8), and *solum* for *sola* at 10,37 (16.3). But Neap.3 is not a descendant of η, nor does it share any significant agreements in error with any other members of the group. Neap.3 contains over eighty readings of secondary origin, including twenty-four omissions, and shows signs of contamination with a descendant of Conv. Unfortunately, the readings which suggest contamination merely restore the tradition outside the group and do not permit us to identify the contaminating source. It seems fairly certain that the Ciceronian part of Neap.3 was written in north-east Italy, probably at Padua, at some time between 1420 and 1450.

[83] According to Gutierrez, 84. The inventory is dated 1589 in Roma, Bibl. Corsiniana 671 (34.B.15), fols. 132^r–169^v.

c. *Related descendants of ψ*

Two manuscripts which Plasberg placed among the *incerti* without suggesting that they were related to each other in any way prove to be closely related within the group. They share the following readings of secondary origin in addition to those which exemplify the group as a whole: *omnis* for *omnino* at 2,7 (3.23), *philosophice* for *philosophiae* at 2,8 (4.16), *illa* omitted at 6,22 (10.13), and *omnes<que>* at 12,44 (19.3).

Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C.55 inf. (= *Ambr.2*)

Sources: Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca* 511; Mai, 229; Stroebel, 726; Sabbadini, *Scoperte* I 105 n. 69; A.M. Amelli, 'Indice dei codici manoscritti della Biblioteca Ambrosiana', *Rivista delle Biblioteche e degli Archivi*, Sept.–Dec. 1909, 159; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; G. Resta, *L'Epistolario del Panormita*, Messina, 1954, 155; Cipriani, 180; Ceruti, 220–1. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 28 March 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 121 + i fols.; 245 × 169 (160 × 93) and 235 × 165 mm.; 34 lines; Milan; 2/4 15th cent.; two hands: 1) gothico-humanistic, 2) humanistic; marginal corrections by main hand in *Ac1;* marginal names and notes in red by another hand; decorated initial in gold, red, blue, pink and green in imitation of Carolingian style; catchwords; quaternions.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Ac1* 1^r–10^v, 2. *Fin,/* (hand 2) 3. *Am.*

Inscription: *Marci Tulii Ciceronis fragmentum de Achademicis.*

Subscription: *Non reperitur plus ex hoc opere* (in margin).

History: Ambr.2 contains several clues to its history in the form of ex-libris and other notes and signs. It is certain that Ambr.2 belonged to the Barbavara family, for fol. 1^r has: *Est liber Reverendi domini episcopi Terdonensis et Marcolini fratrum de Barbavariis.* Giovanni Barbavara was Bishop of Tortona from 1437 to 1452, and Marcolino served in the chancellery of Filippo Maria Visconti at Milan (see *DBI* 6 (1964), 143–5 [N. Raponi]). Ambr.2 passed to Marcolino's son, as the note on the verso of the rear fly-leaf shows: *Liber D. Ottaviani Barbavari.* Ottaviano appears in a document dated 7 January 1471,

in which he and his brothers were granted the fiefdom of Gravellone. At the foot of fol. 1r are arms, consisting of an imperial eagle and castle surmounted by a helmet and the crest of an eagle, with the letters 'F R' in blue and red, respectively, on either side. These letters, usually in gold, are found in manuscripts which belonged to Francesco Pizolpasso (ca. 1370–1443); but the arms which they usually accompany are quarterly chevrons azure on argent and pales gules on argent.[84] The Barbavara brothers were friends of humanists such as Barzizza, Decembrio, Panormita and Pizolpasso; thus it would be more likely that Ambr.2 belonged to Pizolpasso before passing to Marcolino, in view of their ages. But if that were so, why are the arms not those of Pizolpasso, instead of a castle, which is more representative of the Barbavara? Perhaps the present arms replaced those of Pizolpasso or perhaps 'F R', which Paredi takes to represent *FR(ANCISCUS)*, does not refer to Pizolpasso or is spurious; Paredi does not include Ambr.2 in the library of Pizolpasso.[85] Paredi identified 56 mss. of Pizolpasso in the Bibl. Ambrosiana; but he missed F. 137 sup., which appears in the 1443 inventory drawn up by Brother Henricus of the monastery of Castelazi, where Pizolpasso passed the last part of his life. Ambr.2 does not appear in that inventory, nor does it feature in a list of Ambrosiana mss. which Paredi describes as having been erroneously attributed to Pizolpasso by Antonio Olgiato, the first prefect of the library.[86] Perhaps Ambr.2 underwent the same fate as F. 137 sup., where evidence of ownership by Pizolpasso was removed by its later owner Francesco Ciceri (1521–96).[87] Ciceri also owned Ambr.2. Ciceri's books passed from his heirs to the Ambrosiana in 1604. Another name appears on fol. 1r: *Egregio amico nostro carissimo domino Christophoro de Cautellis* (or *Cantellis*, but not *Cavitellis*, as Cipriani records). Cipriani takes this dedication as evidence of ownership and believes Christophorus to have owned Ambr.2 before Ottaviano Barbavara; she also believes that Ambr.2 is a product of the Veneto.

Use: among *incerti*—Plasberg.

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[84] Described by Paredi, 125, 149 and 159.

[85] Ambr.2 also escapes mention by G.D. Jack, *Francesco Pizolpasso c. 1380–1443* (diss.), Oxford University, 1958, who lists and identifies books in Pizolpasso's library.

[86] Paredi, 86.

[87] As described by Schmidt, 337.

London, British Library, Harley 6327 (= *Harl.2*)

Sources: Harley, 357; Sabbadini, *Biblioteca* 204; Plasberg, *Minor* 126. Collated from ms.; seen 12 December 1981.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 34 + i fols.; 281 × 190 mm.; 29 lines; Italy; 2/2 15th cent.; one hand: humanistic cursive; corrections by same hand; initials decorated with miniatures of putti; horizontal catchwords; mainly quinions; former shelf-mark: 155.B. 15 (Harley).

Contents: 1. *Ac1* 1^r–6^v,/ 2. *Luc.*

Inscription: *M. Tullii Ciceronis Academicarum Quaestionum pars libri quem ut in manus venit transcripsi; sed quo ordine locari debeat non habeo compertum; non esse postremo loco ponendum ipsa lectio docere videtur.*

Subscription: (in margin) *reliquum aut periit aut certe non reperi* (*-TUR* added by another hand).

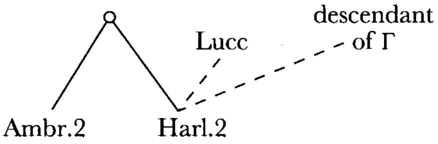
History: Little is known for certain about Harl.2 other than what may be deduced from its appearance; it is in a clear italic hand of the late 15th century and the title is by the same hand. The catalogue indicates that Harl.2 was formerly bound together with Harley 6324, a 13th-century commentary by Alanus on *Her*, and with Harley 6329, containing Victorinus' commentary on *Inv.* Harley 6324 was bought by Sozomenus on 24 November 1431 from the Florentine bookseller Piero Bettucci; on 22 June 1726 it was bought from the Opera di San Jacopo di Pistoia by John Gibson for Edward Harley (see C.E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani*, London, 1972, 466). Sabbadini's suggestion that Harl.2 may also have formed part of Sozomenus' library is unlikely, owing to its seemingly later date of copying, and to the lack of both *Ac1* and *Luc* in the 1460 inventory of Sozomenus' library. Harl.2 is the only manuscript to contain *Ac1* and *Luc* alone.

Use: among *incerti*—Plasberg.

In addition to the common agreements in error of this small family, Ambr.2 and Harl.2 show two further readings where the text of their common source was obviously unstable: at 5,21 (10.2) Ambr.2 reads *cavendum* and Harl.2 reads *dicendum* for *tenendum*, and at 12,43 (18.19) Ambr.2 reads *ut et* and Harl.2 reads *at et* for *at ab.* Further agreements with other, unrelated manuscripts which are shared by Ambr.2 and Harl.2 include *nos* for *non* at 2,7 (3.25) and *conscripsimus*

for *conspersimus* at 2,8 (4.12), while Ambr.2 and Harl.2 both share the significant addition of <*perfectum*> at 5,20 (9.20–1) with other, unrelated *deteriores*.

Harl.2 is both more corrupt than Ambr.2 and shows signs of contamination. I suspect that Plasberg came to the same conclusion, as he attributed Harl.2 to δ? κ? Harl.2 shows relatively few agreements in error with κ (specifically Bas, Bodl.1, Mon.1); indeed where Harl.2 agrees in error with these manuscripts, it always agrees with Lucc also.[88] Agreement with Lucc alone is more common and consists of the transpositions *est amicorum* at 1,1 (1.10), *enim est* at 2,6 (3.9), and *vitam beatam* at 10,35 (15.19), and *alii* in the margin for *alia* at 10,39 (16.20). Thus we may eliminate κ from any connection with Harl.2. The further reading of *prima in natura* for *in prima natura* at 6,22 (10.10) is also shared with Lucc and related families and with Γ. Two other readings point to additional contamination by a descendant of Γ: *appellant* for *appellat* with F and Ged at 2,6 (3.10), and the omission of *quidem* with Γ at 7,29 (13.11). If the comparative corruptness of Harl.2 against Ambr.2 is due to its copyist, and no intermediary between Harl.2 and the archetype of the family is involved, then the stemma is:



Otherwise we may posit an intermediary, which was corrected, probably against Lucc (or δ), with a certain amount of contamination from the Γ tradition, possibly on Harl.2 directly.

d. *Another Paduan family*

This family consists of three manuscripts, of which Plasberg was aware of only one, which he placed in his ζ family. There are no unique readings of secondary origin in this family and its common

[88] Lucc (see pp. 184–5) was unknown to Plasberg, but it is related to Harl.1 and Burn, which made up his *stirps* δ.

characteristics consist of contaminated readings which both correct some of the errors of the group and introduce a particularly striking addition to the text which has found its way into most editions since the Aldine of 1523.

Oxford, Lincoln College, Lat. 38 (kept in Bodleian Libr.) (= *Linc*)

Sources: James, I 41 vol. 76; *Catalogi*, I 2, 39 no. 1299, 12; Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca* I 666; Oxford, I 9; Coxe, I 8, 29–30; Halm, *Opera* 56; Madvig, xiv; Mayor, lxxi; Reid, vii and 65; Dougan, xliii; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xvii n. 6, 126; Pease, *Div* 613, *Nat* 77; R. Weiss, 'The Earliest Catalogues of the Library of Lincoln College', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, vol. 8 no. 94 (1937), 349, 357 n. 86; Bayer, 100; Badalì, 58 n. 42; Schmidt, 240–1; *Texts*, 102 n. and 106 n. Collated from ms.; seen 22–9 October 1977.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + 233 + i (paper) fols.; 360 × 250 mm.; 2 cols. of 73 mm.; 50 lines; N. Italy (Padua?); 1420; 5 hands: all gothic;[89] spaces left for initials; rubric titles; names and topics by original hand; corrections in text and margin by original or contemporary hand; horizontal catchwords; quinions.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *De Orat* (to 2,34),/ (hand 2) 2. *Tusc*, 3. *Sen*, 4a. *Am*, (hand 3) 4b. *Am*, 5. *Parad*,/ 6. *Somn*, 7. *Pet*, 8. *Ac1* 77^{v}–80^{v}, 9a. *Nat*, (hand 4) 9b. *Nat*, 10. *Div*, 11. *Luc*, 12. *Leg*, 13. *Top* (to 88: last 3 fols. of this gathering, including 14. *Syn* and 15. *Diff*, have been cut out), (hand 5) 16. *Fin*, (hand 4) 17. *Fat*, 18. *Tim* (to 52), 19. *Har*, 20. *Opt*, 21. *Part*, (22. Boccaccio, *De Claris Mulieribus*, given in the contents list, has been removed).

Inscription: *M.T.C. Quoddam de Accademicis Fragmentum.*

Subscription: *Haud amplius comperitur. Non plus reperitur tanta fuit negligentia atque inscicia eorum qui iam nos multis seculis anteierunt. Qui suae inercie et ignorantiae utinam praemia digna ferant.*

Colophon: (53^{r}) *Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo.*
Te duce virgo pia cunctis veneranda Maria.

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[89] It is possible that only three hands are involved: 1) 2^{r}–11^{v}, 2) 12^{r}–96^{v}, 3) 96^{v}–234^{v}.

Explet opus penna plurima exiguissima penna.
Supradictum scripsit [. . .] nomine dictus.
Qui [. . .] cognomine nempe vocatus.
die Jovis 17 mensis Octobris 1420.

History: Schmidt suggested that the erased cognomen in the colophon was *de Fobeis*, which at least fits the metre, although it looks more like the deficient *de Fabris*. The first name looks like *Edardus* or *Odardus*, who could be the same as Odoardus, recorded by the Bénédictins de Bouveret.[90] Linc was later owned by the English humanist Robert Flemmyng (ca. 1415–1483), nephew of the founder of Lincoln College. Flemmyng studied at Oxford until 1443, when he went to Cologne. He then went on to Padua, at least by 1446, and Ferrara, where he stayed until ca. 1451, studying under Guarino. In 1455 he was appointed King's Proctor at Rome by Henry VI, taking over from William Gray, but he did not take up residence until ca. 1458. Schmidt believes that Flemmyng may have acquired a number of his manuscripts at Padua and Ferrara but R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford, 1967, 99, states that he collected most of his manuscripts at Rome, where Professor de la Mare believes that Linc was written. Flemmyng gave Linc to Lincoln College in 1465, where it first appears on fol. 13^{r} of the *Registrum Vetus* of 1474: *64 item marcus tullius cicero in multis operibus de tusculanis questionibus eiusdem* [sc. *magistri Roberti Fflemmyng*].[91] Linc originally lacked *De Orat*: it is an addition to the contents list on fol. 1^{v}, *Tusc* is the first work in the *Registrum*, and *De Orat* does not appear in the catalogue of James or in *Catalogi*; it was thus added to Linc some time after the end of the 17th century.

Use: U—Oxford (collated by Thomas Hearne); in ζ—Plasberg; Linc—Schmidt (*Leg*). Cited by Goerenz, Halm, Baiter, Madvig and Reid (*Ac1*), Bayer and Badalì (*Leg*), and Dougan (*Tusc*).

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[90] Bouveret, IV 430 no. 14783. The colophon of London, Brit. Libr., Egerton 2909, fol. 111, a collection of the plays of Terence, reads: . . . *per me Odoardum natum Jacopi Bergognini civis Astensis die nono Septembris MCCCCXVIIII. In Viconovo dyocensis Ferrariensis. Deo Gratias. Amen.* While there are similarities between capitals in Linc and Egerton 2909, even to the extent of different renderings of the same letter in both manuscripts, the style of minuscules looks different; Linc is considerably more gothic, and Egerton 2909 recalls a Carolingian hand.

[91] Similar wording appears on fol. 2^{r} of Linc: *Cicero in multis operibus ex dono magistri Roberti Flemmyng decani Lincolni.*

Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibl., Lat. 364 (= *Frei*)

Sources: W. Hagenmaier, *Die lateinischen mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Freiburg im Breisgau*, vol. I, part 3, Wiesbaden, 1980, 100. Microfilm of *Ac1* only.

Characteristics: parchment; 98 fols.; 240 × 165 mm.; 31 lines; NE Italy (Padua?); 2/2 15th cent.; one hand: humanistic antiqua; a few marginalia by same hand; skeletal initial, space left for decoration; horizontal catchwords; quinions and quaternions.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 90^{v}–98^{r}.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTUM DE ACADEMICIS INCIPIT FELICITER.*

Subscription: *Non reperitur plus* (in margin).

History: Frei comes from the collection of Johann Leonhard Hug (1765–1846). Hug, who was a professor of oriental languages at Freiburg, left about 55 mss. to the university.[92] The binding of Frei is Italian from the late 18th century and is similar to other mss. in the Hug collection.

Use: not previously used.

Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 11512 (= *Vat.2*)

Sources: J. Ruysschaert, *Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. 3, Vatican City, 1959, 175. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 5 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + 120 fols.; 252 × 180 mm.; 28–30 lines; Rome (?); 3/4 15th cent.; one hand: humanistic script; decorated initials in *Part* and *Div* only; gold initials with white vine-stems, sections in red and green on a blue base (similar to Vat.1), and gold letters with red and green sections on a blue base (similar to Burn); vertical catchwords; quinions.

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[92] See W. Hagenmaier, 'Johann Leonhard Hug (1765–1846) als Handschriftensammler' in *Kirche am Oberrhein . . . Festgabe Wolfgang Müller* (= Freiburger Diözesan Archiv 100), 1980.

Contents: 1. *Div* (to 67,140), 2. *Fat* (from 1,2), 3. *Part*,/ 4. *Ac1* (from 2,4 (2.24) to 12,44 (19.5)) 97r–104v,/ 5. *Top* (from 3,11).

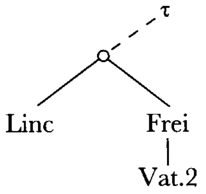
Inscription: *Academ. Quaest.* (much later hand).

History: Vat.2 was almost certainly complete originally: one folio at the start of *Div*, two folios between *Div* and *Fat*, one folio between *Part* and *Ac1*, and two folios between *Ac1* and *Top* have been removed, probably for their decorations. A list of contents on fol. 1r has had added to it *pars philosophie tuli*, which Ruysschaert equates with no. 246 in a 15th-century inventory of books in Vat. Lat. 14065 fol. 10r, published by G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio* (ST 75), Vatican City, 1938, 260. Most of the other identified manuscripts in this inventory now form part of the Fondo Ottoboniano. If Ruysschaert's equation is correct, then Vat.2 is likely to have always been at Rome. The earliest date attached to Vat.2 is found on the rear fly-leaf: *Die 27 augusti 1545 circa xx horam Ill[ustrissima] D[omi]na Margarita Austriae uxor Ill[ustrissimi] D[omini] Octavii Farnesii peperit duos filios masculos Romae.* An ex-libris in the top margin of fol. 2r suggests that Vat.2 already lacked the start of *Div* when it belonged to Marc Antoine Muret (1526–85). Muret's library was established at Rome in 1560 and was given to the Jesuit College by his nephew. Vat.2 bears the signs of P. Beckx, a late-19th-century general of the Jesuits, and of Pius X (1835–1914), who gave it to the Vatican library in 1912.

Use: never collated before.

The contaminated readings which are found in Linc, Frei and Vat.2 are: *physica* for *physicam* at 2,6 (3.11), *ea a* for *ea* at 2,8 (4.4), *malent* for *mallent* at 3,10 (5.3), *haberi* for *habere* at 4,17 (8.2), <*absolutum*> at 5,20 (9.20–1), *prima in natura* for *in prima natura* at 6,22 (10.10), and *possit* for *possint* at 7,27 (12.16). While the reading *ea a* at 2,8 (4.4) is found in all manuscripts except the other families of this group, and both the reading *physica* at 2,6 (3.11) and *prima in natura* at 6,22 (10.10) are found in γ and the next group to be discussed, the addition of <*absolutum*> at 5,20 (9.20–1) and the reading *possit* at 7,27 (12.16) are found only in descendants of τ, and the reading *haberi* at 4,17 (8,2) is found elsewhere only in two descendants of τ, Wash and Ambr.1. Wash and Ambr.1 date only from the third quarter of the 15th century, while Linc bears a colophon dated 1420; but τ was roughly contemporary with Linc.

As far as relationships within this family are concerned, it is immediately apparent that Linc is independent of Frei and Vat.2. For Linc has many errors of its own, while Frei and Vat.2 share just two readings in error. Vat.2 is considerably more corrupt than Frei, presenting over fifty errors, while Frei presents only the reading *patiuntur* for *partiuntur* at 2,5 (2.32) in error. In view of the subject matter under discussion at this point (. . . *de rebus ante oculos positis vulgari sermone disputant, nihil definiunt, nihil partiuntur, nihil . . . concludunt, nullam denique artem esse nec dicendi dec disserendi putant*), it is likely that the correction of *patiuntur* to *partiuntur* was made by the copyist of Vat.2 and that Vat.2 was copied from Frei. This would give the stemma:



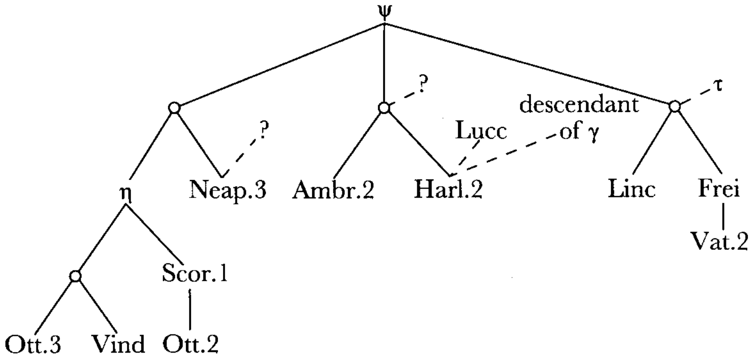
A significant feature of Linc lies in the title of the *Academicus Primus* found in it, for it is similar to that found in Conv and Vind, and in the subscription, which is word for word identical to that found in Conv and Vind, once again. Perhaps it was this observation, more than the collation of the text, which led Plasberg to locate Linc in the same *stirps* as Conv (ζ). The tradition of the *Academicus Primus* in Linc appears to be different from that of the *De Legibus*. The text of the *De Legibus* descends from an exemplar corrected in Petrarch's scriptorium,[93] but for the *Academicus Primus* we may see no such connection with Petrarch, but only the usual one with Corbinelli.

e. *Stemma of ψ*

In order to arrive at a stemma of this group of ten, mainly north-east Italian manuscripts, several factors must be considered, as we have seen. Firstly, the small number of errors which distinguish this group suggests that its archetype was a direct copy of Conv, which

93 According to Schmidt, 242–3.

probably never left Florence. Secondly, η (Ott.2, Ott.3, Scor.1, Vind) and Neap.3 further agree in two readings which are not followed by the rest of the group; but are these readings particularly significant, or could they have arisen independently, caused by a mistaken abbreviation (*naturae* for *nostra*) and the context (*solum* for *sola*)? Thirdly, agreement in error shows that Ambr.2 and Harl.2 are related beneath the archetype of the group, while Linc and Frei (the parent of Vat.2) are marked by shared readings from a contaminating source. This set of observations might construct the following stemma:



But such a stemma makes light of the closeness of the subscriptions of Vind and Linc to that of Conv, the fountain-head of the *deteriores* and parent of ψ (all seem to have been written by one of the text-hands). A comparison of the subscriptions of Vind and Linc against Conv will illustrate this point:

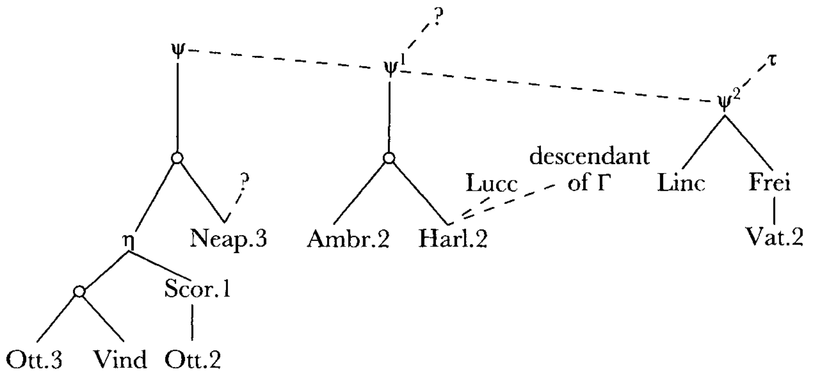
Conv: *Non reperitur plus: tanta fuit negligentia atque inscitia eorum qui iam nos multis seculis anteiverunt qui suae inertiae utinam et ignorantiae praemia digna ferant.*

<*haud amplius comperitur*> added by rubricator before *Non* Linc *Non reperitur plus: Nil plus reperitur* Vind *negligentia atque inscitia* after *anteierunt* Vind *iam* om. Vind *anteierunt* Linc, Vind *et ignorantiae* om. Vind *utinam* after *ignorantiae* Linc, Vind

While the initial phrase *non reperitur plus* is found in six other manuscripts, including Ambr.2, and a similar phrase appears in several more, the remainder of the subscription is sufficiently unpredictable to necessitate a common source. If we use the stemma above, then

the subscription would have had to be propagated through four levels to reach Vind (ψ, the hyparchetype, η, and the common parent with Ott.3), and through two levels for Linc (ψ and the hyparchetype). If such an unlikely subscription is found in such distant relatives as Linc and Vind, why is it not found more commonly?

It is this doubt which necessitates the construction of another stemma; for all ten manuscripts certainly share a related tradition within the *deteriores*, and the subscriptions of Linc and Vind were inherited through the tradition, unless contamination occurred solely in the subscription. Such a possibility may not be ruled out entirely: Conv was written in 1406, Linc in 1420, and Vind in the first quarter of the 15th century. But Conv was at Florence, while Linc probably comes from Padua and Vind may be from Rome. Unless the subscription was copied and taken to Padua and Rome, the only way outside the tradition in which it could have found its way into Linc and Vind is by a combination of possibilities which I have so far rejected: if Corbinelli had taken Conv with him to Rome, and if Linc, as well as Vind, was written at Rome, as Professor de la Mare believes. If we accept that the subscription has been transmitted through the tradition of the text itself, then the following stemma would reduce the number of intermediaries between Conv, on the one hand, and Linc and Vind, on the other, to one and three respectively:



This stemma would account for the agreements of η and Neap.3 (from the original version of ψ), and explain the progressive purity of text at ψ^1 (the second version of ψ, contaminated from an unknown source), with subsequent errors in Ambr.2 and Harl.2 from an hyparchetype, and the progressive contamination of ψ^2 without the errors

found beneath ψ^1. From a historical and geographical perspective, this stemma would view ψ passing through its diachronic states in quick succession: Ott.3, a descendant of η, was written in 1422 and Linc bears the date 1420; the early descendants of ψ come from Constantinople and Rome, and Neap.3 looks Paduan; Ambr.2 is from Milan, and Frei and Linc are also probably Paduan. This reconstruction would keep ψ at Padua with a copy of ψ^1 going to Milan, at least.

On balance it may be simpler to prefer the former stemma with a contaminated subscription in Linc and Vind, although it is a remarkable coincidence that such contamination should occur only in distant parts of a common tradition beneath Conv. It should not surprise us that Plasberg, who otherwise was remarkably successful in distributing the *deteriores* into families, should have met with a relatively low level of success with ψ. As far as the construction of ψ is concerned, there is little general agreement across the group, except on the title of the *Academicus Primus*, which is called something like *Fragmentum de Achademicis* in Vind, Neap.3, Ambr.2, Frei and Linc. The only commonality of contents in ψ is the *De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus* in Ott.3, Vind, Ambr.2 (hand 1), and Frei.

3. A Contaminated and Interpolated Group

Of all the *stirpes* which Plasberg identified among the *deteriores* of the *Academicus Primus*, only three share a common tradition beneath Conv: δ ε θ. The archetype of this group I shall call τ. All the members of these three *stirpes* (now eleven against nine of Plasberg), plus a member of Plasberg's *incerti* and another manuscript of which he was unaware, display the following additions:

4,13 (6.16–17) *ex* <*te*> *ipso*
5,20 (9.20–1) *neque* <*absolutum*>

and read *possit* at 7,27 (12.16) against *possint* of P and *possunt* of Γ. In addition, there are signs of contamination with a descendant of Γ in the readings: *physica* for *physicam* at 2,6 (3.11), *copioseque* for *copiose* at 4,16 (7.11), and *prima in natura* for *in prima natura* at 6,22 (10.10). These readings are presented by all the descendants of Γ, so we cannot identify the contaminating manuscript individually.

a. *Lodovico Vannuccori*

Plasberg identified two members of *stirps* δ; I have added a third member to this family. All three members show all the characteristics of τ, together with nearly fifty further agreements in error against the tradition of τ; these errors include the following omissions: *una* at 4,17 (7.23), *verba* at 7,25 (11.20), *principes sunt*... *autem ortae* at 7,26 (12.1–2), *primi* at 9,34 (15.6), *assidue* at 9,34 (15.10), *illis* at 11,39 (16.27), *etiam* at 11,41 (17.26), *ipsum* at 12,45 (19.10), and *vetus* at 12,46 (19.25).

Lucca, Bibl. Capitolare Feliniana, VIII 562 (= *Lucc*)

Sources: A. Solari, 'Index codicum latinorum classicorum qui Lucae in Bybliotheca Capituli Maioris Ecclesiae adservantur', *SIFC* 14 (1906), 371 no. 24; Bouveret, IV 90 no. 12820. Photocopy of *Ac1* only.

Characteristics: paper; ii (parchment) + 182 + ii (parchment) fols.; 280 × 200 mm.; 29 lines; Rome; 1468; one hand: cursive humanist; marginal and superscript variants by another hand; Greek transcriptions by a third hand; plain initials; vertical catchwords; quaternions.

Contents: 1. *Fin* (from I 15,49), 2. *Ac1* 81^{v}–89^{r}, 3. *Tusc.*

Inscription: *M.T.CICERONIS.DE.FINIBUS.BONORUM.ET.MALORUM.AD.M.BRUTUM.LIBER. VI.FOELICITER.INCIPIT.*

Colophon: (182^{v}) *Per Ludovicum de Vannuchoris Lucensem transcriptum die 20 Aprilis M.CCCC.LXVIII Paulo secundo Pontifice Maximo.*

History: Lucc is one of over 40 books in the Bibl. Capitolare and elsewhere which belonged to Lodovico Vannucori;[94] of these 36 were certainly written by him and the remainder are probably in his hand as well. Over twenty are Latin texts, written between October 1457 and March 1472, and generally bear the characteristic marks of a coat of arms (five lozenges azure on a field or) on the leather cover and on folio 1^{r}, and a colophon usually giving the date and name of the current pope, but never the place of copying. Lodovico has

[94] Lodovico spelled his name variously: de Vannucoris, de Vannuccoris, de Vannuchoris, and de Vannuncoris.

passed through history almost undocumented; the only references to him which I have been able to find give only his name and a reference to an earlier authority: J.W. Bradley, *Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers, and Copyists*, London, 1889, III 362, refers to T. Trenta, *Memorie e documenti per servire all'istoria del ducato di Lucca*, Lucca, 1834, VIII 36, and Trenta to G. Sardini, *Esame sui principj della Francese ed Italiana Tipografia*, Lucca, 1797, II 127. C. Meek, *Lucca 1369–1400*, Oxford, 1978, 191, records the Vannuccori family as of secondary importance, emerging between 1369 and 1390; elsewhere (pp. 213 n. 86, 366, and 374) she lists Bartolomeo Vannuccori among the inhabitants of S. Salvatore parish. S. Bongi, *Inventario del R. Archivio di Stato in Lucca*, Lucca, 1888, IV 177, records that 44 books, manuscripts and printed volumes were given to the Bibl. Capitolare in the first half of the 16th century by the heirs of Filippo Vannuccori. Lucc has been more recently bound with the addition of two front and back fly-leaves which contain transactions and sales of goods by the abbess of S. Cerbone, together with lists of all the Benedictine nuns, dated 1381. S. Cerbone, then in the district of S. Bartolomeo de Gello, lay on the hills which divide the plains of Pisa and Lucca.

Use: not previously used.

London, British Libr., Harley 3953 (= *Harl.1*)

Sources: Harley, III 98; Reid, 64; Plasberg, *Minor* xvii n. 6, 126. Collated from ms.; seen 29 September 1978.

Characteristics: paper (watermark: Briquet 5961); iii + 95 + i fols.; 294 × 223 mm.; 29 lines; Rome; end 3/4 15th cent.; one hand: cursive humanist; marginal notes and corrections by at least one other hand in *Fin* only, including long Greek quotation; title of *Ac1* by another hand; spaces left for initials; vertical catchwords; quinions; former shelf-mark: 122.C. 15.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Ac1* 84^r–91^v.

Inscription: *M. TULLII CICERONIS ACADEMICARUM QUAESTIONUM LIBER PRIMUS.*

History: We may assume that Harl.1 was written at Rome around 1470. The script is virtually identical to that of Lucc, and the evidence of the watermark (1455–77: Udine, Venice, Rome) is in agreement.

A later note on fol. 91^{v} has been erased, but may originally have read: *Orant mihi Alanus [. . .] Hieronymus. Amen.* Nothing more is known of Harl.1 until it was left by Edward Harley (1689–1741) at his death.

Use: Harl.1—Reid; in δ—Plasberg.

London, British Libr, Burney 165 (= *Burn*)

Sources: *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. I, part 2, London, 1840, 53; Reid, 65; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xvii n. 6 and 126. Collated from ms.; seen 29 September 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i (paper) + 186 + i (paper) fols.; 255 × 183 mm.; 32 lines; Rome; 3/4 15th cent.; one hand: humanistic script; marginal notes and names, and superscript corrections (including Greek) in first and another hand in *Tusc* and *Fin*; initials in gold on red, green and blue sections with white vine-stems; inscriptions mainly rubric; vertical catchwords; quinions.

Contents: 1. *Tusc*, 2. *Fin*, 3. *Ac1* 178^{v}–186^{v}.

Inscription: *MTC DE FINIBUS BONORUM ET MALORUM AD M. BRUTUM LIBER SEXTUS.*

History: Nothing certain is known of Burn until it formed part of the collection of Charles Burney (1757–1817), which was acquired by the British Museum in 1818. The first parchment folio of Burn has a coat of arms and ex-libris erased. Burn is the only extant manuscript to contain *Tusc, Fin* and *Ac1*, in that order, where *Ac1* is identified as a sixth book of *Fin*; coincidentally, the same facts apply to a manuscript which has gone missing elsewhere: Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana, E.53, which was listed in the hand-written catalogue of 1749 and has been missing since at least 1889, according to a dated card placed in situ in the library, contained *Tusc* and *Fin* '*libri VI*'.[95]

Use: Burn—Reid; in δ—Plasberg.

Whereas Lucc, Harl.1 and Burn reveal a large number of common agreements in error, they show few individual errors. Lucc has no

[95] This was checked for me at Rome by Professor Reeve. See p. 274.

errors of its own; Harl.1 has one omission, one addition, one transposition and nine other readings in error; Burn has three omissions, one addition, one transposition and twelve other readings in error. Lucc never agrees in error with Burn against Harl.1, but sides with Harl.1 against Burn in the following readings in error: *sunt* for *sint* at 4,14 (6.30); *Graecos* om. at 7,25 (11.19); *est* for *esset* at 11,41 (17.21); *ut* for *et* at 11,41 (17.24); *defentio* for *defectio* at 12,43 (18.26); and *quidem* om. at 12,44 (18.29). The only agreement in error between Harl.1 and Burn against Lucc is in the reading of *omnem* for *omne* at 12,44 (18.28).

It seems certain that Harl.1 was copied from Lucc; not only are there no errors in Lucc which are not also found in Harl.1, but the text-hands of both manuscripts appear identical. Both are paper manuscripts, probably written by Lodovico Vannuccori. The relationship of Burn to Lucc, however, is less obvious. In spite of the errors found in Lucc but absent from Burn, a further characteristic of Lucc may clarify that relationship. Lucc contains several marginal and superscript corrections or variants written at different times, possibly by different hands. While Harl.1 tends to follow an earlier state of Lucc, Burn usually presents the later reading: for example, at 3,12 (5.29) Harl.1 and the first hand of Lucc read *persequitur*, while Burn follows the variant reading in Lucc, *prosequitur*; and at 5,18 (8.17) Harl.1 follows the first hand of Lucc in reading *sum*, while Burn and the corrector of Lucc read *sus*.

In view of the evidence presented so far we may conclude either that Burn as well as Harl.1 is a copy of Lucc with corrections from interpolation or contamination, or that Burn descends from the parent of Lucc. In order to resolve this dilemma we must analyse the errors found in Lucc, but not in Burn. Firstly, the omissions: at 7,25 (11.17–20) Lucc originally read *Qualitates igitur appellavi quas poeothetas Graeci vocant quod ipsum aut non est vulgi verbum sed philosophorum*, and *aut* was corrected to *aput*, but without a governed noun; obviously the corrector was aware of a problem in the text and, if Burn was copied from Lucc, then the addition of *Graecos* could have been achieved through interpolation in view of the earlier phrase *quas poeothetas Graeci vocant*. The omission of *quidem* at 12,44 (18.29) again occurs in an unstable portion of text: originally Lucc read *Archesilas omne certamen instituit non pertinacia aut studio vincendi mihi videntur, sed . . .*, and a superscript *ut* was added before *mihi* while the verb was corrected to *videtur*; analysis of Merguet reveals that *ut mihi videtur* occurs

only five times in Cicero's philosophical works against ten occurrences of *ut mihi quidem videtur*,[96] so that an interpolated correction is feasible. The half-correction of both omissions in Lucc is striking but inconclusive. The preference of Burn for *sint* at 4,14 (6.30) and *esset* at 11,41 (17.21) against *sunt* and *est* of Lucc in clauses governed by *cum* is attributable to interpolation, as is the reading of *ut* at 11,41 (17.24) in Burn against *et* of Lucc, which thus presents indicative and subjunctive verbal forms in parataxis. Lastly, the change of *defentio* at 12,43 (18.26) in Lucc to *defectio* in Burn looks a straightforward correction. Thus, if we posit a stemma in which Burn was copied from Lucc, most of the errors which are found in Lucc could have been corrected in Burn by the copyist without recourse to any other manuscript source; but the possibility of contamination should not be ruled out completely. If, on the other hand, we believe that Burn is descended from the archetype of the family independently of Lucc, then we must attribute to coincidence the evidence of corrections to Lucc, as at 3,12 (5.29) and 5,18 (8.17), which provide a watershed between the copying of Harl.1 and Burn; in addition, the significantly high proportion of errors which occur in all three members of the family against errors in individual manuscripts would need to originate in the archetype. A further observation may have a significant bearing on the stemma which we construct.

In addition to believing that Lucc and Harl.1 are by the same copyist, I suspect that Burn also may have been copied by Lodovico Vannuccori. Lucc and Harl.1 are written in a cursive hand on paper, while Burn is more formally written and on parchment.[97] If this is so, we may posit that Lucc was originally written with superscript variants and marginal corrections; Harl.1 was then copied from Lucc. Superscript and further marginal corrections were then added to Lucc, and Burn was then written—or perhaps these corrections were added to Lucc at the same time as Burn was written, for Lodovico would by now know the text fairly well, and would be able to supply required readings easily. Alternatively, if Lodovico still had access to the manuscript from which Lucc was copied, he could make corrections to Burn from that manuscript. The closed nature of the tradition of Lodovico's manuscripts would render a regular stemma somewhat unsatisfactory.

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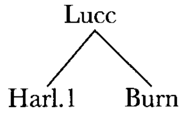
[96] H. Merguet, *Lexikon zu den philosophischen Schriften Ciceros*, Jena, vol. 3, 1894, 783.

[97] In fact, if Burn is by Lodovico, it would be the only parchment manuscript to have been copied by him.

The writing of Lucc, Harl.1 and Burn was probably achieved within a fairly short span of time, starting at the beginning of 1468. They were probably all written at Rome. The illumination of Burn is Roman, the inclusion of *Lucensem* in the colophon suggests that Lucc was written away from Lucca, where it has lain for several centuries, and the presence of the name of Paul II suggests that Lucc may have been written at Rome. Certainly the only other manuscript of the *Academicus Primus* to contain the name of a pope in a colophon was written at Rome.[98] It is interesting to note that Harl.1 and Burn are the only manuscripts which we suspect to have been written by Lodovico and yet which do not bear a colophon giving the date and copyist's name; of the nineteen others, fifteen bear the name of a pope (Callistus III (1455–8), Pius II (1458–64), Paul II (1464–71)). Of the entire twenty all except one have been kept together at Lucca;[99] does this combination indicate that Burn and Harl.1 were written by Lodovico not for himself, but for friends? If we choose to represent this family by a stemma, it would be as follows:



The last point of interest about this family as a whole is that it is the only one outside the immediate family of P in which the *Academicus Primus* is called a sixth book of the *De Finibus*. There are no other signs of contamination, however, and I suspect that the erroneous title was due to a confusion in the archetype of the family, where it was left untitled, and subsequently was mistaken in a similar way to its mistitling in Mon.1 and Bon(1).

b. *A Ferrarese family*

Plasberg identified two manuscripts in ε. They were found by Schmidt also to be related for the *De Legibus*, and to trace a path back to

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[98] Chis, p. 205.

[99] The exception is Paris, Bibl. Nat., nouv. acq. 907; but even this ms. was at Lucca until relatively modern times—for it was listed by A. Mancini, 'Index codicum latinorum Publicae Bybliothecae Lucensis', *SIFC* VIII (1900), 125 n., as belonging at that time to Giuseppe Martini, a bookseller of Lucca.

Guarino. They show all the characteristics of τ, plus the following readings of secondary origin which are not found in any other manuscripts of the *Academicus Primus*: *omnia tota* for *tota omnia* at 7,27 (12.16), *eo* for *eoque* at 7,27 (12.17), *novis* for *notis* at 8,32 (14.8), and the omission of *cum* at 9,35 (15.10). In addition, this pair of manuscripts displays other errors which are found in unrelated, individual manuscripts, including the omission of *mecum* at 1,1 (1.1) and of *ut aiunt tamen inepte quisquis Minervam* at 5,18 (8.17–18). The total number of errors is less than twenty, a fact which places the archetype of this family close to τ.

Washington, Folger Shakespeare Libr., SM. 9 (= *Wash*)

Sources: J.H. Mai and Z.C. von Uffenbach, *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana*, Halle, 1720, IV 222 no. CLXI; Z.C. von Uffenbach, *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana Universalis*, Frankfurt, 1730, III 116; Goerenz, vi; Moser and Creuzer, *Nat* xiv–xv, *Leg* vii, xvii, *Div* xvii; Halm, *Opera* 9; Baiter, ix; Mayor, I lv and lxx; Reid, 64; Sotheby & Co., Sale Catalogue, 30 January 1920, lot 28; Plasberg, *Maior* 33, *Minor* xvii n. 6 and 126; de Ricci & Wilson, I 443; Pease, *Div* 613, *Nat* 79–80; Schmidt, 347–50. Microfilm of whole ms.

Characteristics: parchment; 156 fols.; 230 × 170 mm.; 35 lines; Ferrara; 1453–71; one hand: humanistic script; decorated initials; unexecuted device on fol. 1^r; marginal names and notes by first hand; vertical catchwords; quinions; former shelf-mark: V.a.88.

Contents: 1. *Leg*, 2. *Nat*, 3. *Div*, 4. *Fat*, 5. *Tim*, 6. *Somn*, 7. *Ac1* 150^r–156^r.

Inscription: *M.T. CICERONIS FRAGMENTORUM DE ACADEMICIS.*

Subscription: *NON REPEPERITUR PLUS* [sic].

History: Wash has been variously dated: by Schmidt to 1440–50, by Pease to 1460, and by the Sotheby catalogue to the early 15th century. Professor de la Mare likens the script to that of the copyist of the Maffei Vergil, who worked between 1453 and 1471 at Ferrara. The earliest recorded owner of Wash was Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734) of Frankfurt, for whom it was acquired by his brother Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach (1687–1769) at Rome in 1715. It is likely that Wash previously formed part of

the collection of Giovanni Giustino Ciampini (1633–1698) of Rome.[100] The Uffenbach library was put up for sale at Frankfurt in 1730, and later belonged to Johann Melchior Hartmann (1764–1827) of Marburg,[101] who gave Wash to Friedrich Creuzer by 1818. Sometime after 1839 and before 1861, Wash was acquired by Henry Allen; Wash is not mentioned in Allen's editions of *Nat* (1836) and *Div* and *Fat* (1839), but is cited in Halm's edition of philosophical works (1862) as belonging to Allen. Wash was sold at Sotheby's on 30 January 1920 to T. Thorpe and in March of the same year to W.T. Smedley, from whom it passed to Henry Clay Folger (1857–1930).

Use: Uff—Goerenz; A—Halm (collated by Allen), Baiter, Reid; in ε—Plasberg; G—Moser and Creuzer (*Nat*); U—Mayor (*Nat*); Cr—Moser and Creuzer (*Leg, Div, Fat*); *Creuzerianus I*—Moser (*De republica*); Wash—Schmidt (*Leg*).[102]

Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, D.94 sup. (= *Ambr.1*)

Sources: Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca* 511; Mai, 237; Bake, 110–11; Stroebel, 726; Sabbadini, *Scoperte* I 105 n. 69; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Cipriani, 31; Schmidt, 349–50; Ceruti, 291–2. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 28 March 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i + ii (paper) + 180 + i fols.; 323 × 215 mm.; 38–9 lines; Ferrara; 3/4 15th cent.; one hand: humanistic script; marginal names and notes by first hand; gold initials on red, blue and green with white vine-leaves; unexecuted device on fol. 1^r; quinions.

Contents: 1. *Fin*, 2. *Leg*, 3. *Nat*, 4. *Div*, 5. *Fat*, 6. *Luc*, 7. *Tim*, 8. *Somn*, 9. *Ac1* 175^r–179^v.

Inscription: *Marci Tulli Ciceronis fragmentorum de academicis liber incipit.*

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[100] See *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* III (1914) 1585–8, and Cosenza, II 1000–1 and V 496.

[101] See *ADB* X (1879) 687.

[102] According to H.E. Allen, *Observationes in loca aliquot Ciceronis*, Dublin, 1863, 18. Orelli used Wash as *c*: *Codex vero, quem (tunc Creuzeri, olim Uffenbachianum) litera c notabat vir doctissimus, hodie meus est*... I have not been able to find in which edition this was; it was certainly not in that of 1827.

Subscription: *Non reperitur plus* [later hand: *Nam libro primo de natura deorum testatur se scripsisse quattuor libros academicos*].

History: While Schmidt placed Ambr.1 in northern Italy between 1440 and 1450, Professor de la Mare believes that it was written at Ferrara a little later. Cipriani confirms that the decoration is in the Lombardo-Ferrarese style. A terminus is provided by a curious set of predictions on fol. 180ʳ:

> *Anno mcccc Lxxxvi Roma pastore carebit. anno m cccc Lxxxvii multi inedia morientur. Anno m cccc Lxxxviii eclesia multas et varias persecutiones pacietur. Anno mcccc Lxxxviiii ex insula colssensium* [?] *usque ad urbem maximus erit interitus hominum multi bello et gladio multi peste cadent. Anno mcccc Lxxxx ex plaga occidentali rex decendet qui totam graeciam et turciam acipiet et Jerusalem. pastoremque in sua sede restituet et in pace sanctissima disponet. tamen nichil Credo nisi maximam rerum mutacionem.*

These notes are in the same hand as that which added to the subscription of *Ac1*.[103] Two notes in Ambr.1 seem to be at odds: on fol. 1ʳ *Joannes Antonius Arimundus dono dedit mihi Joanni Mariae Catanae praesentia volumina M. Tullij Ciceronis*; but on fol iiʳ (paper) is the note *Hic codex diligentissime conscriptus fuit Jo. Mariae Catanai.* Giovanni Maria Cataneo (d. 1529) from Novara was the editor of Pliny's letters, published at Milan in 1507. The motto on fol. 1ᵛ, *NON RE SED SPE*, may belong to Cataneo or another owner. Further notes on fol. iiᵛ (paper) show how Ambr.1 came to the Bibl. Ambrosiana: . . . *iussu Illm. Federici Card. Borrhomei, Bibl. Ambr. fundatoris, a Iuliano pictore emptus fuit anno 1606.* These notes are signed by Antonio Olgiato, the first librarian of the Ambrosiana.

Use: in ε—Plasberg; Ambr.1—Schmidt (*Leg*); β—Bake (*Leg*), collated by F. Mancini, prefect of the library.

Ambr.1 is considerably more corrupt, with nearly sixty errors which are not found in Wash, including twelve omissions; Wash, on the other hand, presents no omissions of its own and only two readings in error which are not also found in Ambr.1: *malent* for *mallent* at 3,10 (5.3) and *audierunt* for *audierant* at 12,46 (20.6). While neither of

[103] Is this the hand of Cataneo (see below)? Bake's reference to notes by Cataneo is not specific.

these readings may be easily explained away except as a judicious correction or fortuitous error by its copyist, I feel that the weight of evidence favours the conclusion that Wash is the parent of Ambr.1 for the *Academicus Primus*, unlike the *De Legibus*.[104] The marginalia in both manuscripts are virtually identical and conform roughly to Schmidt's classification as typical of Guarino,[105] although there is no certain evidence to show that Wash was written during Guarino's life-time.[106]

c. *A Milanese family*

Plasberg identified five members of θ, and a sixth has come to light since. All these manuscripts show the characteristic marks of τ, together with sixteen agreements in error against τ which are not found in any other manuscripts, including the following omissions: *a philosophia* at 3,11 (5.22), *huic* at 3,11 (5.23), *ea* at 4,16 (7.18), *quae ad virtutis . . . et in quibusdam* at 5,21 (9.25–7), *quandam* at 6,24 (11.8), *ipsum* at 10,38 (16.11), and *per se* at 11,41 (17.15).

Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibl., Dc 120 (= *Dresd.2*)

Sources: Goetze, II 49; Ebert, 268–9; Falkenstein, 254; Moser, *Parad* xi; Schnorr, 316; Plasberg, *Minor* 126. Microfilm of whole ms.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 122 fols.; two parts: 28/31 lines; N Italy (Milan?); two hands: 1) gothic (Rolandus de Grompo) 2) humanistic; coat of arms: black dog's head on white background/cross on a shield; marginal notes by main hand/marginal notes by another hand, except in *Ac1*; horizontal catchwords/vertical catchwords; quinions/quaternions; former shelf-marks: Elect. 523, Regia D 112.

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[104] Any conclusions drawn from Wash should be tempered by the fact that the text nearest to the inside margin of the book is virtually unreadable, especially on microfilm. Reid, 64, remarked that 'in parts, the ink is rubbed away, but the forms of the letters are so deeply impressed on the parchment that, with care, the readings can always be made out'.

[105] Schmidt, 353–4.

[106] If it was a member of this family which contaminated the parent of Linc, however, then we must posit an intermediary between τ and Wash, as Linc itself was written in 1420 and Wash was not copied until the third quarter of the 15th century.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Off,/* (hand 2) 2. *Am*, 3. *Sen*, 4. *Parad*, 5. *Somn*, 6. *Ac1* 115r–122v.

Inscription: *M.T. Ciceronis Fragmentum Libri de achademicis.*

Colophon: (68r) *Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo. 1421 die jovis viii° mensis maij scriptus fuit hic liber per me rolandum de grompo.*

History: Dresd.2 plainly consists of two parts which have been united; they differ in script, number of lines per page, type of catchword and gathering. Yet both parts seem to have been written at about the same time and in the same region of Italy. Nothing is known about Dresd.2 until it formed part of the library of the von Werthern family.[107]

Use: in θ—Plasberg; *Dresdensis primus*—Moser (*Parad*).

Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, F.71 sup. (= *Ambr.3*)

Sources: Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca* 511; Mai, 239–40; Stroebel, 726; Sabbadini, *Scoperte* I 105 n. 69; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Cipriani, 47; Ceruti, 465–6. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 28 March 1978 and 11 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i + ii (paper) + i + 75 + i fols.; 224 × 150 mm.; 28 lines; N Italy; 1420s; one hand: humanistic; gold initials decorated with leaf designs on a blue and green base (elsewhere vine stems with green, blue and pink interstices); speakers denoted with a device; horizontal catchwords; quaternions; badly damaged by water.

Contents: 1. *Am*, 2. *Sen*, 3. *Parad*, 4. *Somn*, 5. *Ac1* 64r–74v.

Inscription: *M.T. Ciceronis Liber achademicorum incipit foeliciter.*

Subscription: *Marci Tullij Ciceronis achademicorum liber explicit foeliciter.*

History: Written, probably at Milan, by the same copyist as the second hand of Dresd.2. Ambr.3 may have been written for Johannes Baptista Serenius of the Milanese Seregni family,[108] whose ex-libris

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[107] For the von Werthern, see p. 138.

[108] Several members of the Seregni family—Alexis, Basilius, Joannes, Maximus and Vincentius—are listed by P. Argelatus, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium*, Milan, 1745, II 1340–5.

appears on fols. i^r and 75^r. Ambr.3 next belonged to Julius Portalupus, whose extravagant signature is found several times on fols. 74^v and 75^r. The last private owner of Ambr.3 was Francesco Ciceri (1521–1596), a professor at Milan from 1548, whose manuscripts, numbering about 80, of which half were Milanese,[109] passed from his heirs to the Bibl. Ambrosiana in 1603.

Use: in θ—Plasberg.

Napoli, Bibl. Nazionale, IV.G.22 (= *Neap.1*)

Sources: Janelli, 224–5; Stroebel, 726;[110] Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Mercati, I 112 n. 5; Gutierrez, 189; Badalì, 51. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 7 April 1978.

Characteristics: paper (watermark: Briquet 13048–9); ii + 87 + i fols.; 206 × 155 mm.; 25 lines; N Italy; 1/2 15th cent.; one hand: humanistic; space left for initials; titles supplied by later hand (Parrasio); marginal corrections and notes by first and two other hands; spaces left for speaker's name, and written in by Parrasio; vertical catchwords; various gatherings: quaternions, quinions, senions; former shelfmark: 47.

Contents: 1. *Am*, 2. *Ac1* 28^r–40^r, 3. *Somn*, 4. *Sen*, 5. *Parad.*

Inscription: *m t c liber achademicorum incipit feliciter.*

Subscription: *Finis.*

History: Professor de la Mare believes that Neap.1 was written in northern Italy in the first half of the 15th century. The watermark (a bunch of grapes) is reported by Briquet from mainly northern Europe in the second half of the 15th century, including Milan in 1455 and 1479. Neap.1 is another of the collection of Parrasio (together with N_1, N_2, and Neap.3); it possesses many indications of his ownership: on fol. ii^v *A Iani Parrhasii et amicorum emptus Mediolani duobus argenteis*; fol. 87^v *Antonii Seripandi ex Iani Parrhasii testamento*; the list of contents on fol. ii^v is also in Parrasio's distinctively fine hand, as are the titles and *FINIS* of all works. Parrasio acquired N_2 and

[109] According to Cosenza, II 1004–5.
[110] Erroneously identified as IV.G.42 by Stroebel.

Neap.3, at least, during his stay at Milan from 1499 to 1506; we may surmise that it was during this period that he acquired Neap.1 as well.[111]

Use: in θ—Plasberg; Badalì (*Parad*) without *siglum*.

Perugia, Bibl. Comunale Augusta, 530 (H.14) (= *Perus*)

Sources: *Inventari dei mss. delle biblioteche d'Italia*, Forlì, 1895, V 147; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Badalì, 51. Microfilm of whole ms.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 71 + i fols.; 205 × 145 mm.; 28 lines; Milan; 3/4 15th cent.; one hand: humanistic; marginal notes in *Sen*; lines added by first hand at end of *Am* and *Sen*; Greek characters in-line in *Parad*; coloured initials with vine-stems and leaves; speakers' names in rubrics; contemporary binding with brass clasps bearing inscription *Agnus Dei*; fly-leaves contain part of a treatise on Latin grammar; vertical catchwords; quaternions.

Contents: 1. *Am*, 2. *Sen*, 3. *Parad*, 4. *Somn*, 5. *Ac1* 62^v–71^v.

Inscription: *M.T. ciceronis Achademicorum liber incipit feliciter.*

Subscription: *Finis* (rest erased).

History: Professor de la Mare has suggested the date and place of copying of Perus; Dr Mario Roncetti of the Bibl. Comunale Augusta informs me that the anterior fly-sheet bears a book-keeping annotation dated 17 February 1476, which serves as a terminus.

Use: in θ—Plasberg; Badalì (*Parad*) without *siglum*.

Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Lat. 6837 (= *Vat.1*)

Sources: Stroebel, 726; Plasberg, *Minor* 126. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 4 April 1978.

Characteristics: paper (watermark: Briquet 11669, 11672–81); ii + 128 + ii fols.; 238 × 166 mm.; 25 lines; N Italy (Milan?); 1/2 15th cent.; one hand: humanistic cursive; few marginal notes by contem-

[111] For details on Parrasio's library, see pp. 75–6.

porary hand; extensive marginalia in *Lig* and *Sall*; gold initial on fol. 1r with large vine-stems and green and purple sections on a light-blue base; elsewhere plain initials in red and blue alternately; rubric titles and interlocutor names; 'paragraphs' noted by alternate red and blue devices; quinions.

Contents: 1. *Man*, 2. *Milo*, 3. *Deiot*, 4. *Senat*, 5. *Arch*,/ 6. *Marc*, 7. *Lig*, 8. *Sall*, 9. *Exil*, 10. *Catil*, 11. *Ac1* 118v–128r.

Inscription: *M.t.c. liber achademicorum Incipit: prologus.*

Subscription: *Explicit liber M.T. Ciceronis Achademicorum Laus Christo.*

History: Virtually nothing is known of the history of Vat.1. The watermarks (a cross on a mountain-top) are among the most commonly found. The decorations are from northern Italy, although the text is less easy to locate. Professor de la Mare believes that the text hand is from the first half of the 15th century. Two clues to the identity of persons connected with Vat.1 exist: on fol. 118r, at the end of *Catil*, is the subscription:

> . . . *explicit quem eqo [. . .] bpt deo dante scripsi laus Christo ac eius inviolate genetrici.*

The name, unfortunately, has been removed. Fol. 1r bears the name *Scipionis Bargelini*, but I have been unable to find any evidence for such a person in the usual places.

Use: in θ—Plasberg.

Venezia, Bibl. Nazionale Marciana, Lat. VI 259 (2879) (= *Ven*)

Sources: A.M. Zanetti, *Latina et Italica D. Marci Bibliotheca Codicum Manu Scriptorum*, Venice, 1741, VI 259; Valentinelli, IV 84 no. 130. Microfilm of *Ac1* only.

Characteristics: parchment; 60 fols.; 202 × 144 mm.; 29 lines; NE Italy (?); 1/2 15th cent.; one hand: gothic; space left for initial; 'paragraphs' indicated; speakers indicated in margin; former shelf-mark: XCV/γ.

Contents: 1. *Am*, 2. *Parad*, 3. *Somn*, 4. *Ac1* 52r–60r.

Inscription: *M.T. Ciceronis liber achademicorum Incipit per dialogos foe li citer.*

Subscription: *M.T. Ciceronis Liber unicus achademicorum Explicit foeliciter.*

History: While a large number of manuscripts at the Marciana come from the collection of Bessarion, Ven entered the library in 1825, as a note on the fly-leaf indicates. Valentinelli's ascription of Ven to the 14th century is surely wrong.

Use: never consulted before.

The members of this family divide immediately, with Dresd.2 opposing the other five manuscripts. Significantly, Dresd.2 has no omissions which are not made by the other members of the family, and its only error which is not found elsewhere in the family is the reading of *et* for *ex* at 2,8 (4.13). In the context in which it occurs, this error might easily have been corrected in copies. The other manuscripts, however, show many errors in common which are not found in Dresd.2, including the omission of *ea* at 1,2 (1.12), *ut . . . Minervam* at 5,18 (8.17–18), *vim . . . efficeretur* at 6,24 (11.2–3), *enim* at 6,24 (11.9), *aliae . . . principes* at 7,26 (12.1), and *tamen* at 12,46 (20.8), and the following additions: *nec <intelligere nec>* at 2,7 (3.24), *regionum <et>* at 3,9 (4.24), and *Democritus <dixit>* at 12,44 (19.6). Thus Dresd.2 appears to be the progenitor of the family as a whole. The remaining manuscripts divide into Ambr.3, on the one hand, and Neap.1, Perus, Vat.1 and Ven, on the other hand. Errors found only in Ambr.3 are: *ad* omitted at 2,7 (4.1), *unde* omitted at 2,8 (4.6), *cognitione <procul esset>* at 4,15 (7.8), *referrentur* omitted at 5,19 (9.4), *recti<que>* at 6,23 (10.22), *erit* omitted at 7,26 (11.31), *pro* omitted at 8,33 (14.16), *efficeret <aliquid aut quod efficeretur>* at 11,39 (17.2), and *ita* for *itaque* at 12,45 (19.9). Neap.1, Perus, Vat.1 and Ven agree in error on more than seventy occasions, including: *quae <enim>* at 1,2 (1.21), *eadem* omitted, *ipse <et>*, and *enim* omitted at 2,5 (2.29), *iura tu sacerdotum* omitted at 3,9 (4.22–3), *etiam* omitted and *ipso <iam>* at 4,13 (6.16–17), *<insanus> inquit* at 5,18 (8.16), *id enim sequebatur* omitted at 6,24 (10.30), *ut <bene>* at 7,25 (11.14), *aliquid* after *efficeretur* at 11,39 (17.3), and twelve other single-word omissions and two further additions.

Ambr.3 shows three significant agreements with Dresd.2 against the rest of the family: *plurimum<que>* at 3,9 (4.26), *ipse <et>* at 3,9 (4.28), and *deducere* for *deduceret* at 12,45 (19.22). In addition, Ambr.3 omits *est* at 7,26 (11.31), while Neap.1, Perus, Vat.1 and Ven all

prefer *erit* with Γ. These readings suggest that Ambr.3 is descended from Dresd.2 via a missing manuscript which served as the exemplar for the common parent of Neap.1, Perus, Vat.1 and Ven. But Ambr.3 appears to have been written by the same hand as that which wrote the second part of Dresd.2, including the *Academicus Primus*; if this is so, then we should need to posit either the relationship suggested above, in which Dresd.2, the missing manuscript and Ambr.3 were written presumably by the same hand, or a stemma in which Ambr.3 was copied from Dresd.2, and then a copy of Ambr.3 was made which was subsequently corrected against a descendant of Γ and made available for the production of Neap.1, Perus, Vat.1 and Ven. Simplicity seems to argue for the former solution.

Neap.1, Perus, Vat.1 and Ven all display readings in error of their own, although their proneness to error varies as the following table shows:

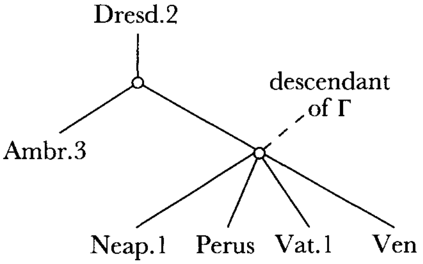
	Neap.1	Perus	Vat.1	Ven
Omissions	3	15	13	9
Additions	0	1	4	6
Transpositions	2	7	9	5
Other readings in error	6	29	67	43

Inevitably there are agreements in error between manuscripts at this level; these agreements are mainly confined to easily confused readings such as *parvumve* for *pravumve*, but the transpositions shared by Neap.1, Vat.1 and Ven are striking: *alia ulla* at 5,19 (9.2–3), *nobis magis* (with Γ) at 7,25 (11.25), and *ipsum id* at 11,41 (17.23). So also are those shared by Perus, Vat.1 and Ven: *abhorrerent et disciplinis* for *et disciplinis abhorrerent* at 2,4 (2.25), and *nominata ita* at 8,32 (14.6). This latter division corresponds with the relative purity of Neap.1 against the corruptness of Perus, Vat.1 and Ven and may argue for a stemma where Perus, Vat.1 and Ven are descended through a lost brother of Neap.1. But no consistent pattern of agreement emerges and I conclude that Neap.1, Perus, Vat.1 and Ven all descend independently from a common exemplar which contained in-line corrections.

There is evidence within the family for contamination with the Γ tradition beyond that found in τ itself. Neap.1, Perus, Vat.1 and Ven agree with Γ in the following readings: *poetis* for <*a*> *poetis* at 3,9 (4.26), the omission of *inquit* at 5,19 (8.24), *eiuscemodi* (or *eiusmodi*)

for *huiuscemodi* at 7,25 (11.14–15), and *erit* for *est* at 7,26 (11.31). Furthermore, these manuscripts are joined by Ambr.3 in two further agreements with Γ: *quidem videtur* for *videtur quidem* at 4,18 (8.13–14), and *dicerent* for *diceret* at 10,38 (16.6). While the former reading is likely to be coincidental, the second may give a clue to where in the Γ tradition this contamination came from, for the corrector of Mu, alone of the Γ tradition, presents such a reading.

Overall it is likely that contamination occurred in the parent of Neap.1, Perus, Vat.1 and Ven in the following stemma:



As the descendants of Dresd.2 omit the *De Officiis* and it was written in Dresd.2 by a different copyist from the rest of the manuscript, it seems probable that the *De Officiis* was not joined to Dresd.2 until after copies containing the *Academicus Primus* had been made.

d. *A north-east Italian/Roman family*

Two manuscripts, one placed by Plasberg among the *incerti*, and the other unknown to him, form a related family within the group. Beyond their common readings with τ, Holm and Ott.1 also agree, alone of all the manuscripts of the *Academicus Primus*, in the omission through homoeoteleuton of *correctionem explicabo . . . inquam videtur* at 9,35 (15.13–15), and, in common with other manuscripts, with the following readings: *est* for *e* at 3,10 (5.13), *genus <est> e* or *genus est* for *genus e* at 7,26 (12.9), and the omission of *eamque neque . . . esse dicebat* at 11,42 (17.29–18.1).

Stockholm, Kungliga Bibl., Va 12 (= ***Holm***)

Sources: E. Pellegrin, 'Manuscrits d'auteurs latins de l'époque classique conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Suède', *Bulletin*

de l'IRHT 3 (1954), 14; Schmidt, 336–42; Shrader, *Ownership* 313, *Handlist* 296. Microfilm of *Ac1* only. Plate 4 (fol. 47ʳ).

Characteristics: paper (watermark: Briquet 11633); 59 fols.; 237 × 170 mm.; 28 lines; NE Italy; mid 15th cent.; one hand: gothico-antiqua; addition and corrections by another hand; initial on fol. 1ʳ in gold on light blue ground; later initials in yellow on light blue or green base; horizontal catchwords; quinions; former shelf-mark: Phil. in 4° No. 50.

Contents: 1. *Leg*, 2. Vegetius, *De Re Militari* (excerpts), 3. *Ac1* 47ʳ–56ʳ, 4. Martin of Braga, *De Formula Honestae Vitae.*

Inscription: *M. Tullij Ciceronis Academicarum Quaestionum Liber primus ad M. Terentium Varronem* (later hand, in top margin).

History: Holm bears the unidentified arms on fol. 1ʳ of a lion gules on azure, in front a person blocking his ears. The watermark, a hammer surmounted by a cross, comes mainly from the Midi of France around 1440. Holm may have formed part of a larger manuscript, as the gatherings bear the signatures M^2–R^{10} and fol. 1ʳ bears the number 240. Schmidt suggested that Holm was written in Padua; it is not known how it arrived at Stockholm, but it is thought to have been taken as war-booty. Holm first appeared there in the 1734 catalogue of the Kungliga Bibliotek, as recorded in the hand-written catalogue of the late 19th century; it did not feature in the late 17th century catalogue, but opinion has it that it already was there by this time.[112] The title of *Ac1*, added by a later hand, is similar to that found in printed editions, such as Vettori, Lambinus, Gryphius, Gruter, etc.

Use: Holm—Schmidt (*Leg*).

Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob. Lat. 1196 (= *Ott.1*)

Sources: L. Dorez, 'Recherches et documents sur la bibliothèque du Cardinal Sirleto', *MAH* XI (1891), 485; M. Vattasso, *I codici Petrarcheschi* (ST 20), Vatican City, 1908, 109; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Kristeller, *Iter* II 428; Schmidt, 368–71; Pellegrin, 473–4. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 5 April 1978.

[112] Letter from B. Dahlbäck to P.L. Schmidt on 25 February 1961.

Characteristics: paper (watermark: Briquet 6027 (Lucca 1457)); ii + i (parchment) + 386 + i (parchment) fols.;[113] 220 × 160 mm.; 20 lines; Rome (?); mid 15th cent.; eleven hands: humanistic script (*Ac1*); space left for initial; former shelf-marks: V.7.3 and Q.IV.12.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Leg*,/ (hand 2) 2. *Ac1* 53^r–63^v,/ (hand 3) 3. *Top*,/ (hand 4) 4. Francesco Filelfo,[114] *Oratio ad Bessarionem Cardinalem ut Matronis Ornamenta Restituantur*, (hand 5) 5. Matteo Bosso of Verona, *Oratio ad Bessarionem Cardinalem ne Feminis Bononiensibus Inania Ornamenta Vestium Reddantur*,/ (hand 6) 6. Ps.-Vergil, *Epistula ad Maecenatem*, 7. Ps.-Apollonius Rhetor, *Epistula ad Ciceronem*, 8. Venantius Fortunatus, *De Pascha ad Felicem Episcopum*, 9. Ps.-Cyprian, *De Pascha*, 10. Petrarch, *Africa* VI 885–918, 11. Honorius of Autun, *Imago Mundi* I 2–66,/ (hands 6 & 7) 12. Dictys Cretensis, *Ephemeris Belli Troiani*,/ (hand 8) 13. Poggio, *Invectiva in Felicem Antipapam*, (hand 9) 14. idem, *Historia Tripartita*, 15. idem, *De Lingua Latina*,/ (hand 10) 16. Agostino Dati, *Elegantiolae Latini Sermonis*, 17. Guarino, *Epistula ad Leonellum Marchionem Ferrariae de Studendi Ordine*, (hand 11) 18. Plutarch, *Vita Galbae* (trans. Filelfo), 19. idem, *Vita Othonis*.

Inscription: *Academicarum Quaest. 2ae edit. lib. primus* (later hand).

History: The earliest known owner of Ott.1 is Marcello Cervini (1501–1555), in the inventory of whose library in Vat. Lat. 8185 fol. 280 it is no. 61.[115] Ott.1 was acquired from Cervini's family by Cardinal Guglielmo Sirleto (1524–1585) and appears as no. 222 in the inventory of his library in Vat. Lat. 6163 fol. 312, drawn up shortly after his death;[116] all the works now contained in Ott.1 were listed there except those of Guarino, Venantius Fortunatus, Ps.-Cyprian and Dictys, and the translation of Plutarch—the entry for *Ac1* was that found as the inscription in Ott.1, which was the regular form found in printed editions such as the Aldine, Bentinus, Manutius, Estienne, etc. Ott.1 was bought in 1588 by Cardinal Ascanio Colonna

[113] A note on fol. 1^r, dated 8 January 1907, records that the two fly-leaves are from Vat. Lat. 10645, fols. 7–8.

[114] Under the name of *Nicolosa Sanuta Bononiensis*.

[115] For Marcello, see S. Morrison, 'Marcello Cervini Pope Marcellus II Bibliography's Patron Saint', *IMU* V (1962), 301–19. The fact that Ott.1 is no. 61 in the catalogue was provided to Schmidt by R. Avesani.

[116] See G. Denzler, *Kardinal Guglielmo Sirleto*, Munich, 1964, 70–2.

(ca. 1560–1608). After Colonna's death, Ott.1 was bought by Giovanni Angelo Altemps.[117]

Use: among *incerti*—Plasberg; Ott.1—Schmidt (*Leg*).

Both Holm and Ott.1 display individual errors which are not shared by the other. Ott.1 is more prone to error with forty-six errors, including the following omissions: *mihi . . . sum* at 1,3 (2.9–10), *a me . . . haesitans* at 2,4 (2.17–18), *humana* at 5,21 (9.31), *in utroque* (*citroque*) at 7,28 (12.24), *in terris* at 7,29 (13.7), *ingenuitatem* at 9,33 (14.25), and *sed ea . . . dicerent* at 10,38–9 (16.16–19). Holm, on the other hand, has only sixteen errors, including only one omission, that of *de*^{2} at 2,6 (3.16), one addition, *et* <*si*> *quid* at 1,2 (1.16), and one transposition, *rebus bonis* for *bonis rebus* at 4,15 (7.6). Thus, while neither Holm nor Ott.1 can be the parent of the other, the poverty of data linking them does not enable us to posit any more detailed a stemma than that of descent from a common exemplar (λ).[118]

It is not easy to place the origin of Holm and Ott.1 in an historical context: both appear to have been written between approximately 1450 and 1475, but there is uncertainty on where they were copied. Schmidt suggested the provenance of Holm as northern Italy, possibly at Padua, and Professor de la Mare accepts north-eastern Italy; but while Schmidt located Ott.1 at Bologna, Professor de la Mare prefers Rome, where it has been at least since the time of Marcello Cervini. But the presence of several texts in Ott.1 which have a connection with Verona may not be insignificant. Perhaps the answer to this problem lies in the fact that Ott.1 is a *zibaldone*, a collection of unrelated texts from several different cities, which came together only in the time of Cervini at Rome.

e. *Stemma of τ*

Beyond the readings which typify the group as a whole, there are few errors which are found in more than one family of the group. With the exception of the omission of *est* at 8,32 (14.10), which

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[117] For Altemps, see p. 162.

[118] Schmidt, 370 n. 19, was correct in suspecting that Holm and Ott.1 went back to a common source (p^{b2}) for *Acl.*

occurs in Lucc and Dresd.2 and their descendants, all shared errors involve λ, as follows:

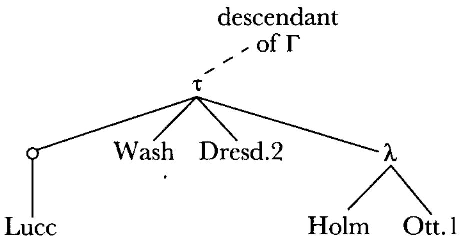
3,9 (4.28)	*ipse* <*et*>: Dresd.2, Ambr.3, λ
4,17 (8,4)	*complecti* for *completi*: Lucc, Harl.1, Burn, λ
8,32 (14.6)	*esset* for *essent*: Wash, Ambr.1, λ
10,37 (15.31)	*appellabant* for *appellabat*: Dresd.2, λ

The further agreement of Ott.1 alone with Dresd.2 and its descendants in the lengthy omission of *sed ea . . . dicerent* at 10,38–9 (16.16–19) is surely due to the coincidental cause of homoearcton, for it is not omitted from Holm.

The only striking agreement in error in this list would appear to be the addition *ipse* <*et*> at 3,9 (4.28), but it is not enough in itself, even with the support of *appellabant* for *appellabat* at 10,37 (15.31), to merit the construction of a stemma of the group which shows any connection of its constituent families other than through the archetype of the group (τ). Analysis of the errors found in each of the families of the group gives an impression of the number of intermediary copies to be reconstructed between each of them and τ:

	Lucc	Wash	Dresd.2	λ
Omissions	11	3	7	2
Additions	4	0	1	0
Transpositions	17	1	2	0
Other readings in error	50	2	6	2

Only Lucc, apart from Holm and Ott.1, of course, seems to require an intermediary between itself and τ.



Historically Dresd.2 is probably the earliest descendant of τ, having been written in northern Italy, probably at Milan, about 1420; Wash

was written at Ferrara some time after 1450. Thus, given the above stemma, we should expect τ to have moved from Milan to Ferrara by mid-century; where λ was copied is unknown, however.

4. A Contaminated Roman Manuscript

The solitary manuscript which is discussed here was placed by Plasberg among his *incerti*; it is a heavily contaminated manuscript, which, while it clearly reveals the source of its contamination, defies classification among the *deteriores*.

Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Chigi H V 147 (= *Chis*)[119]

Sources: Stroebel, 726; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; Avesani, 46–7; Badalì, 52; Pellegrin etc., 306–7. Microfilm of whole ms.; seen 6 April 1978.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 224 fols.; 245 × 170 mm.; 29 lines; Rome; 1463; Rodolfus; one hand: semi-cursive humanist; superscript and marginal notes and corrections by a similar hand; illuminated initials in gold with white vine-stems on a pale green and pink base; frequent use of CH (= σημείωσαι) in margin; vertical catchwords; quinions; former shelf-marks: 352, 1975 (Vincenzo Guerrini Fulginate).

Contents: 1. *Tusc*, 2. *Ac1* 128^r–139^v, 3. *Somn*, 4. *Parad*,/ 5. *Tim*, 6. *Luc*, 7. *Pet.*

Inscription: *M.T.C. Achademicorum liber foeliciter incipit.*

Colophons: (127^r) *Finis quinti et ultimi libri Tusculanarum questionum Marci Tulii Ciceronis ego Rodolfus finivi. Male*; (212^r) *Ego Rodolfus scripsi hunc librum tempore papae Pii A°. Di. M°.cccc°.Lxiii et die xii* [*dominico* added above] *octobris* [*vel* added above] *hora fere vi noctis* [+ *Hortensius* added].[120]

History: Chis may have been written specifically for Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini (ca. 1440–1495), whose signature appears inside the front

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[119] Chis is repeatedly referred to erroneously by Avesani as Chigi H IV 147.

[120] Pellegrin points out that 12 October 1463 was not a Sunday, as the superscript addition to the colophon states, but a Wednesday.

cover and on fol. 1^v. Patrizi, a native of Siena, was private secretary from 1460 to Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II).[121] Two other mss. in the Chigi collection appear to be by the same hand: H VII 221 and 223.[122] Both these mss. and H VII 217 and 219 belonged to Patrizi, and they all contained philosophical works of Cicero. It seems likely that Patrizi owned Chis by 1484, at the latest, as the signature inside the front cover (*A. Patricii*) attests: in 1484 he was appointed Bishop of Pienza and Montalcino by Sixtus IV, and thereafter always signed his name in the form found on fol. 1^v (*A. Patricii Episcopi Pientini*). Shortly before his death in 1495, Patrizi gave his Greek mss. and 1000 others to his friend and patron Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, whose service he had entered after the death of Pius II. Todeschini conceived the idea of the construction of a cathedral library at Siena and, before his death in October 1503 after only one month as pope (Pius III), sent part of his collection from Rome to Siena, including Chis in all probability. The Siena library suffered severe losses in the religious wars and its mss. were scattered all over Europe. Fabio Chigi (1599–1667), Pope Alexander VII from 1655, acquired fewer than 213 of those that were left at Siena in 1660 and had them brought to Rome, where they formed part of the Bibl. Chigiana. The collection was maintained by his heirs until 1918, when it was purchased by the Italian government, and it was given to the Vatican in 1922.

Use: among *incerti*—Plasberg.

That Chis is a member of the *deteriores* which has been contaminated by a descendant of Γ, and not vice versa, is shown by its agreement with the the P tradition in general, and the *deteriores* in particular, in more than a hundred characteristic readings. But Chis shows no consistent agreement in error with any manuscript or family of manuscripts among the *deteriores*; either it traces its descent independently back to Conv or, more probably, its origin has been successfully obscured by contamination.

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[121] The copyist Rodolfus is the subject of some confusion at Avesani's hands: through a misreading of the colophon on fol. 127^r, Avesani states that the ms. was written by 'Rodolfus Finius', about whom he could discover nothing. In fact, the correct reading of the colophon is as above; the copyist had a habit of writing final 'i' after a 'u' or 'v' as a 'j', resembling a final 's'.

[122] Thus A.A. Strnad, 'Studia piccolomineana', in Maffei, 320.

As far as the position of Chis among the *deteriores* is concerned, we may probably exclude the possibility of descent from the contaminated and interpolated NW Italian group (Plasberg's δ ε θ) as none of the characteristic readings of the group is presented by Chis. The only readings which offer any positive evidence for locating Chis among the *deteriores* are limited to the reading of *nos* for *non* at 2,7 (3.25), and the addition of <*perfectum*> at 5,20 (9.20–1). The patently correct *nos* is found only in Ambr.2 and Harl.2 among the *deteriores*, and as a marginal correction in Ged; the addition of <*perfectum*> is found as a marginal correction in Laur.2 and Ricc.1, and as the textual reading in Ambr.2 and Harl.2, once again, as well as in the later *editio princeps*. It may have been these agreements with Ambr.2 and Harl.2 which led Plasberg to place Chis with them among the *incerti*. However, the lack of any regular agreement with any families among the *deteriores* suggests that Chis descends independently from Conv.

Contamination is clearly demonstrated by the following readings which Chis shares with Γ against the tradition of P: *quoque* for *quamquam* at 2,5 (3.4), *physica* for *physicam* at 2,6 (3.11), *sunt* <*vera*> at 3,9 (4.18), *augendum* for *agendum* at 5,21 (10.2), *putabant* for *putat* at 7,27 (12.12), *citroque* for *in utroque* at 7,28 (12.24), and *cohaerente* for *cohercente* at 7,28 (12.26). In addition, several other features are due to contamination, such as the inclusion in the text of Chis alone of the *deteriores* of *hic nec id ullo modo fieri posse disserebat* at 10,38 (16.10), the omission of the otiose <*disserendi*> at 4,17 (8.8), which is a feature of the entire tradition of P, and the marginal correction of *da mihi nunc* at 3,10 (5.4) to *ea mihi non*. Several further examples of contamination enable us to narrow down its source: the transpositions *omnino negat* at 2,7 (3.22–3) and *ista inquam* at 3,9 (4.18) and the reading of *implendum* for *impellendum* at 3,9 (4.29–5.1) are all found in the descendants of γ; but, while there are no readings of secondary origin in Chis which are found in a single descendant of γ, there is ample other evidence to show that the contaminating source was Ged.[123] This evidence is provided by the presence in Ged of several corrections which find their origin in a member of the *deteriores* and are written in Rodolfus' hand; corresponding corrections were made to Chis from Ged in a way which indicates cross-pollination:

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[123] See pp. 93–4.

1,2 (1.21)	*que* first hand, *qui* corrector Chis: *qui* first hand, *que* corrector Ged
7,25 (11.18)	ποιότητας omitted, added in margin by corrector Chis: *poeotecas* in text, ποιότητας added in margin Ged
12,43 (18.19)	*at ab* first hand, *ab* deleted by corrector Chis: *ut ab* omitted by first hand, *at* added by corrector Ged

The overall impression which we gain from an analysis of corrections to Chis is that the manuscript went through the following stages of development:

1. Rodolfus used a member of the *deteriores* and Ged to form the basic text;
2. Rodolfus used Ged again to make superscript and marginal additions of omitted passages, variant readings and Greek words;
3. Rodolfus transferred readings from Chis to Ged.

Further information on the position of Chis in the stemma is furnished by Francesco Patrizi's letter to Achille Petrucci.[124]

L.F. Smith is of the opinion that Agostino Patrizi was 'a Sienese friend and doubtless relative (though not close)' of Francesco.[125] Not only was Agostino 'willing to lend . . . books', but Francesco received new poems from Agostino on several occasions,[126] and ordered the Gospels in Greek from him.[127] Analysis of Francesco's letter, where he quotes Cicero, reveals the following readings which give some clues to the identity of the manuscript which Francesco had to hand: *hominis* with Γ and Chis at 4,16 (7.17), either *dubitationem* with P and all the *deteriores* except Chis or *dubitata* at 4,17 (8.6),[128] and *assertionem*

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[124] Fully analysed on pp. 35–7.

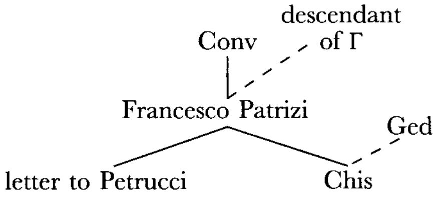
[125] Smith, 103.

[126] As Avesani, 8, confirms.

[127] Avesani, 6.

[128] Schmitt's V (Venezia, Bibl. Naz. Marc., Lat. XIV 262 (4719)) reads *dubitationem*, but F (Firenze, Bibl. Naz. Centr., Nuovi Acquisti 382) reads *dubitata*; interestingly, Chis reads *dubitativa*, the only manuscript to offer such a reading. Schmitt, 171, prefers *dubitationem* and describes V as 'more accurate and easier to read' although it is incomplete; F 'has certain inaccuracies and in a number of instances is impossible to read, because the ink has corroded the paper'. Both mss. 'seem to be of the fifteenth century'. In view of the possible connection of Chis and Francesco Patrizi, it seems more likely that the reading was originally *dubitata*, or some such form as in F, and that the *dubitationem* of V was picked up through contamination with one of the widely available *deteriores*.

with P and the *deteriores* at 12,45 (19.15).[129] These readings give the impression that Francesco's text was a member of the P tradition, probably a member of the *deteriores*, with similarities to Chis itself. It is likely that Chis was copied from a manuscript which Francesco owned, and from which he took extracts in his letter to Petrucci. This manuscript may have been contaminated by a descendant of Γ,[130] and the stemma would be:



According to such a stemma, the movement of Francesco's text from Siena to Rome for the copying of Chis could have been occasioned by his transfer to Gaeta in 1460. As a friend of Pius II, Francesco was presumably no stranger to the Curia, where Agostino served as Pius' amanuensis from 1460.

5. The *Editio Princeps* and its Apographs

The first printed text of the *Academicus Primus* appeared in the edition of philosophical works of Cicero which was published by Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz at Rome in 1471.

Editio Princeps (= *Rom*)

Sources: Fabricius, 216; Ernesti, xxi; G.B. Audiffredi, *Catalogus historico-criticus romanarum editionum saeculi xv*, Rome, 1783, 80–1; Hain, 5231; Dibdin, 447; Schweiger, 171; Orelli, 307–8; Moss, 335–6; Brunet, 14; Graesse, 170; Burger, 320; Proctor, 3320; Pellechet, 3766; *Catalogue*, IV 13–14; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; *Gesamtkatalog*, 6883; Stillwell, 147; Guarnaschelli, 2879; Pease, *Div* 620, *Nat* 89; Goff, C558; Flodr, 111; Schmidt, 391–3. Collated 4 September 1976.

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[129] Francesco has changed the construction of the sentence, so that Cicero's *assertione* becomes *assertionem*.

[130] Viz. the reading *hominis* at 4,16 (7.17).

Characteristics: folio; 2 vols.; 361 fols.

Contents: (part 1) 1. *Nat*, 2. *Div*,/ 3. *Off*, 4. *Parad*, 5. *Am*, 6. *Sen*, 7. verses on Cicero,[131] (part 2) 8. *Tusc*,/ 9. *Fin*, 10. *Fat*, 11. *Pet*, 12. *Ac1* 300^{v}–305^{v}, 13. *Tim*, 14. *Luc*, 15. *Leg*.

Inscription: *Pars libelli Ciceronis de philosophia.*

Colophons: (155^{r}) *Anno Christi M.CCCC.LXXI. die vero XXVII mensis Aprilis. Rome in domo magnifici viri Petri de Maximo;* (361^{r}) *M.CCCC.LXXI. Die XX Sept.*

Use: in ζ—Plasberg; ed. Rom. 1471—Schmidt (*Leg*).

Rom presents, with two minor modifications, all the omissions, transpositions and additions of Ricc.1; the two marginal additions in Ricc.1[132] form part of the main text in Rom, as do most of the in-line corrections. In addition, Rom presents many readings of secondary origin which are not found in Ricc.1, with twenty omissions, five additions, four transpositions and over eighty other errors and interpolations. Characteristic readings of Rom and its apographs include *abissemus via* for *eius villa abessemus* at 1,1 (1.8), *T. Fannii* for *Amafinii* at 2,5 (2.29–30), *philosophica* for *physica* at 2,6 (3.11), *Sophoclem* <*Empedoclem*> at 3,10 (5.11), *movendi et ignis* for *et ignis movendi* at 7,26 (12.7), <*aut*> *expers ab ea quae* for *ab ea quae expers* at 11,39 (16.32), and *nihil* <*teneri nihil*> at 12,44 (19.8). At five places the pre-Ricc.1 tradition is restored, but it is not necessary to posit contamination as the correction is in every case obvious. The nature of innovations in Rom suggests some carelessness in editing the text, but much more conscious interpolation, especially in the case of additions and of changes to proper names. The editors were obviously at pains to provide a readable text.

Ricc.1, it will be remembered, belonged to Poggio, and thus the source of the *Academicus Primus* in Rom provides a parallel to Schmidt's findings for the *De Legibus*, where Vatican Lat. 3245, which had belonged to Poggio, was the source for that work in Rom. Both Ricc.1 and Vatican Lat. 3245 formed part of the library which Jacopo Bracciolini (1442–78) inherited at his father's death in 1459,

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[131] Schmidt, 392 n. 3, identified these verses as *Anthologia Latina* I 603–14, Martial V 69, Catullus 49, Silius Italicus VIII 404–11 (cf. Ross), Pliny, *Nat Hist* XXXI 3,8. There is also reference in Rom to *Apollonius Rhetor secundum Plutarchum.*

[132] Viz. *vivendum* <*conferre*> at 4,15 (7.9) and *neque* <*perfectum*> at 5,20 (9.20–1).

and Schmidt asks whether it was Jacopo who provided his father's autograph copy as the exemplar for the *De Legibus*. A similar question may be asked about Ricc.1; if Jacopo provided a text of the *Academicus Primus*, then that text must have been Ricc.1, which was the only manuscript in Poggio's posthumously inventoried collection (no. 1) to contain that work, unless he had a copy of Ricc.1 made especially for the printers to use. For Ricc.1 shows no signs of having been used as a printer's copy; once again the parallel with Vatican Lat. 3245 is maintained, for it too shows no signs of having served as a printer's copy. At this stage Schmidt posits contamination, but this is not necessarily the case with the *Academicus Primus*. Schmidt remarks that the quality of the text of the *De Legibus* in Rom is owed not to the editorial skill of the publishers, but to the carefully selected exemplar; no such claim can be made for the *Academicus Primus*, as Ricc.1 presents a humble text with Poggio's interpolations.

While the *Lucullus* and *De Legibus*, the only works in Vatican Lat. 3245, appear in that sequence at the end of part two in Rom and may be expected to come from the same source, the contents of Ricc.1 do not provide an equally neat fit. Three of the works in Ricc.1 (*Topica, Partitiones Oratoriae*, and *Somnium Scipionis*) do not appear in Rom, while the *De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus*, the first and last works in Ricc.1, are in ninth and twelfth position in Rom, and only the *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute* occupy adjacent positions in both Ricc.1 (second and third) and Rom (fifth and sixth)—but they usually went together. Furthermore, three works in Rom (*De Fato, De Petitione Consulatus* and *Timaeus*) do not appear in the inventory of Poggio's books. It seems likely, therefore, that the *Academicus Primus* was the only work from Ricc.1 which found its way into Rom and this may indicate that Rom stands *in loco codicis*; the printer's copy may have contained the texts in Rom from various manuscripts of Poggio, including Ricc.1 and Vatican Lat. 3245. Schmidt, on the other hand, suggests that the separate gatherings of Rom may, with the exception of the *Lucullus* and *De Legibus*, represent the different sources of its components;[133] but the *Academicus Primus* certainly opposes such a theory. Here a study of the other texts of Rom is necessary.

It was perhaps in the printer's copy that the clear identification of the work as *Pars Academicorum* in Ricc.1 was obscured, with the result that in Rom and all its apographs it is called *Pars libelli Ciceronis*

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[133] Schmidt, 392 n. 3.

de philosophia. At least three manuscript copies of the *Academicus Primus* were made from the *editio princeps*; all of these manuscripts have already been so identified and they are not further related beneath Rom.

Gent, Centrale Bibl., 68 (= *Gand*)

Sources: J.A. Walwein de Tervliet, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Publique de la ville de Gand*, Ghent, 1816, 23; J. de St Genois, *Catalogue . . . des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de la ville et de l'Université de Gand*, Ghent, 1852, 241; Plasberg, *Minor* 126; R. Plancke, 'Répertoire des manuscrits de classiques latins conservés en Belgique', *Revue des Etudes Latines* 18 (1940), 153; G. de Plinval, ed. *Cicéron Traité des lois*, Paris, 1959, lxix; Schmidt, 393–5; Derolez, 112–18. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 15 July 1977.

Characteristics: parchment; i + 243 + ii fols. (numbered 1–492); 383 × 274 mm.; 39 lines; Flanders (Bruges?); 1460–99; 3 hands: 1) gothic bastarda—cursiva formata, 2 and 3) hybrida formata; marginal names, topics and notas by another hand; initials illuminated in blue, green and brown.

Contents: (part 1) 1. Ps.-Aristotle, *Secreta Secretorum,/* 2. *Pet,* 3. *Ac1* 78–88, 4. *Tim,* 5. *Luc,* 6. *Leg,* 7. Sallust, *Catilina,* 8. id., *Jugurtha,/* (part 2) 9. Orosius, *Historia adversus Paganos.*

Inscription: *Pars libelli Ciceronis de Philosophia.*

Colophons: (287 and 491) *Hunc librum comparavit Raphael de marcatellis Abbas sancti Bavonis iuxta Gandavum: Et quoad potuit correxit. Anno domini 1484*; (488) *Explicunt historiarum Pauli Orosii presbiteri adversus paganos libri numero septem, anno 1460 mensis Junii die xxi*[a]; (488) *Hoc volumen comparavit Raphael de Marcatellis dei gratia Episcopus Rosensis Abbas sancti Bavonis iuxta Gandavum. Anno domini 1499.*

History: Part 2 was written in 1460, or copied from an exemplar written in that year, and part 1 in 1484 (not 1465 as reported by St Genois, or 1482 as Walwein reported). Both parts contain the arms of Raphael de Marcatellis or Mercatel (1437–1508), an illegitimate son of Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy. Raphael was abbot of St Bavon (Sint Baaf) at Ghent from 1478 until 1507 and left his collection to the Abbey. Part 2 was inserted before the final folio of

part 1 some time before 1572, when Viglius de Zuichem drew up an index based upon a *Recollectorium* made several years previously, perhaps in 1499.[134] The Abbey library was confiscated in 1795 and transferred to the new library of the Ecole Centrale du Département de l'Escaut, of which the holdings passed to the City Library in 1804; this was joined to the University Library in 1817.

Use: in ζ—Plasberg; G—Plinval (*Leg*); Gand—Schmidt (*Leg*).

Raphael de Mercatel is well known for his preference for manuscript books, even if their texts were copied from printed editions, as Schmidt found to be the case for the *De Legibus*. There are over twenty textual changes in Gand from the text presented by Rom and they hint at contamination from a 'manuscrit belge'. The combination and sequence of works of Cicero follow the second part of Rom exactly over a limited range;[135] the *Tusculanae Disputationes, De Finibus* and *De Fato* were not copied and are found in other manuscripts which belonged to Mercatel.

St. Andrews, University Libr., PA6295.A2A00 (= *Sant*)

Sources: Schmidt, 396–8. Microfilm of *Ac1* only; seen 30 April 1980.

Characteristics: paper; i + 283 + i fols.; 375 × 280 mm.; 36 lines; northern Europe; 1471–82; 3 hands: gothic bastarda; marginal notes and names by first hand and possibly one other; mainly blue initials with red decoration; spaces left for Greek words; some vertical catchwords; gatherings of 5 and 6 sheets; former shelf-marks: A.C. 1.13, A.A. 3.21, Pal. 9 (?).

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Off*, 2. *Parad*, 3. *Am*, 4. *Sen*, 5. verses on Cicero, 6a. *Tusc*,/ (hand 2) 6b. *Tusc*, 7. *Fin*, 8. *Somn*,/ (hand 3) 9. *Fat*, 10. *Pet*, 11. *Ac1* 163^r–167^v, 12. *Tim*, 13. *Luc*,/ 14. *Nat*, 15. *Div*,/ (hand 1) 16. *Leg*.

Inscription: *pars libelli Ciceronis de philosophia.*

History: The first owner of Sant was Archibald Whitelaw (1415–96), Archdeacon of Lothian and Sub-deacon of Glasgow, whose ex-libris

134 See Derolez, 5–6, for further details.
135 As Schmidt, 395, notes.

appears on fols. 1^r, 151^v and 264^r. Schmidt suggests that Sant was written for Whitelaw at Cologne, where he studied, but the watermarks are generally Flemish or French. Each copyist used different paper: the first used paper with a watermark of three fleurs-de-lis within a shield surmounted by a crown, similar to Briquet 1790, which is recorded at Arlon in 1473, Namur 1474–6, Bar-le-duc 1475–6, Bruges 1476 and Sierck 1477; the second used paper with a watermark which is not reported, consisting of a pot on two legs with an elongated neck, surmounted by a cross; the third hand used paper with a watermark of an anchor, identical to Briquet 393 from Paris 1479. Thus the watermarks suggest that Sant comes from northern France or Flanders, like Gand. Sant was later owned by Thomas Henryson, Lord Chesters (d. 1638),[136] and then by William Guild (1586–1657), a professor of theology, who left his collection to the library of St. Andrews University.[137] The folios between *Div* and *Leg* are discoloured and bear the names of Whitelaw and Henryson; this makes it likely that *Leg* originally was the first work in the manuscript.

Use: Sant—Schmidt (*Leg*).

Textually Sant is the most faithful copy of Rom for the *Academicus Primus*; Schmidt has already identified Sant as a copy of Rom for the *De Legibus* and M.R. James, *A Catalogue of the Mediaeval Manuscripts in the University Library Aberdeen*, Cambridge, 1932, 60, stated that the works of another manuscript which belonged to Whitelaw were 'very likely all copied from printed texts'. Sant contains all the works in Rom, plus the *Somnium Scipionis*, and its composition suggests a commercial approach: where a work in Rom ends on the last page of a gathering (i.e. at the end of the *De Divinatione, Tusculanae Disputationes* and *De Finibus*), so the hand in Sant changes too, indicating that the copy of Rom which was used was divided up among the copyists for speed of production. Support for such a conclusion is provided by the presence of blank folios in Sant where the end of the preceding work in Rom coincides with the end of a gathering.

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[136] For Henryson, see *DNB* 26 (1891), 131.
[137] For Guild, see *DNB* 23 (1890), 323–4.

Cambridge, University Libr., Add. ms. 2582 (= *Cant*)

Sources: Reid, 65 n. 2; Schmidt, 398–9. Collated 12 September 1977.

Characteristics: parchment; iii (paper) + 100 + iii (paper) fols.; 212 × 127 mm.; 28 lines; Rome; 3/4 15th cent.; two hands: both humanistic; one marginal gloss by rubricator; illuminated initials in gold on red, blue, green and yellow base.

Contents: (hand 1) 1. *Leg*,/ (hand 2) 2. *Fat*, 3. *Pet*, 4. *Luc*, 5. *Ac1* 91^{v}–100^{v}.

Inscription: *Pars libelli M.T. Ci. De Philosophia.*

Subscription: *Finis.*

History: Schmidt dates Cant to 1470–80 and locates its origin as Rome. Nothing is known of Cant until it belonged to T.E. Jackson of Trinity College, Cambridge, whose name and the date 21 April 1879 appear on fol. 1^{v}. Jackson (born 1856) later became a teacher and headmaster of two schools in Lancashire.[138]

Use: Cant—Schmidt (*Leg*).[139]

Cant is the most error-prone copy of Rom, starting with the very first word of the *Academicus Primus*, *si* being written in place of *in*. Its contents correspond fairly closely with the second part of Rom, although the *De Legibus* is taken from another, manuscript source.

6. *Esse Malebat Quam Videri*

The preceding sections of this chapter have described manuscripts individually, in families and in groups within the *deteriores*. In this final section it is my intention to discuss the relationships of those manuscripts beneath Conv and to fit them into a historical context in Renaissance Italy.

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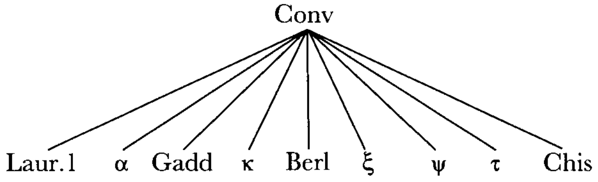
138 See J.A. Venn, ed. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Cambridge, 1947, part 2, vol. 3, 540.

139 Although Cant was consulted by Reid, he dismissed it as a copy of the *editio princeps* without even referring to it by its shelf-mark.

There can be little doubt that Conv is the ancestor from which all the *deteriores* are ultimately descended: the readings presented earlier,[140] especially the corrections made in Conv, indicate clearly the starting-point for a class of *deteriores*. As we have seen, the descendants of Conv fall into the categories of unmarked families of manuscripts which are directly descended from Conv, where the archetype is sometimes extant, marked groups of manuscripts where the archetype has to be reconstructed, and one individual manuscript which, owing to its contamination, cannot be assigned to any larger grouping. It is unlikely that there are any further relationships between the families and groups of manuscripts described here. Obviously agreements between the families and groups do occur, but they are few in number and relatively insignificant: Gadd and α, for example, both Florentine products, read *contemnat* at 3,10 (5.6); Laur.1 and Gadd both read *qua* for *quia* at 7,29 (13.8) and *appellant* for *appellabant* at 8,32 (14.7); and ξ, Berl and Lucc agree in reading *nobiles* for *mobiles* at 8,31 (13.26) and in transposing *disciplinam novam* at 12,43 (18.21). Whatever the explanation of these agreements—contamination or coincidence—there is no question of any further stemmatic connection. Obviously texts from different families and groups among the *deteriores* were in close proximity, as is shown by the presence in the same manuscript (Bon) of descendants of Gadd and of κ, and by the presence in Vespasiano's bookshop of Ged alongside several descendants of Gadd, and contamination on a wide scale may have taken place, but there seems little opposition to positing a simple stemma, as follows:



[140] See p. 64.

The error-rates of these descendants of Conv are as follows:

	Omissions	Additions	Transpositions	Other readings
Unmarked families:				
Laur.1	7	0	0	14
α	2	0	1	3
Gadd	1	0	0	10
κ	3	0	0	2
Berl	3	0	1	8
ξ	1	0	0	2
Marked groups:				
ψ	1	0	1	4
τ	0	2	1	3
Individual ms.				
Chis	0	4	6	9

At first sight, the total number of errors would seem to suggest that Laur.1, Gadd and Berl were more distantly related to Conv than were α, κ, ξ, ψ and τ. But we know that Laur.1, and possibly Gadd and Berl as well, was a direct copy of Conv. This paradox is resolved by the fact that in Laur.1, Gadd and Berl we have the evidence of a single manuscript (the other members of their respective groups all descended ultimately from them) against the collective 'purity' of archetypes in α, κ, ξ, ψ and τ, where original errors in the archetype may have been removed from some apographs through correction or contamination, or may be hidden by a lack of agreement in error among the apographs. The positive evidence of extant copies of Conv is opposed by the silent testimony of reconstructed archetypes. Perhaps the most telling figure is the number of omissions in each copy of Conv; the figures even out much more closely, but, even so, the only definite copy of Conv—Laur.1—is the most error-prone. It comes as no surprise that Chis, a single manuscript without the support of descendants of its own, should have a large number of errors: yet it shows no omissions, probably as a result of its contamination. The overall conclusion would appear to be the well-accepted one that the quality of errors is more significant than their quantity, and that our ability to reconstruct archetypes in detail is far from impressive.

Before we pass on to historical matters, one further textual phenomenon among the *deteriores* should not go unrecorded. At only one place in the text of the *Academicus Primus* is an innovation made

beneath Conv which has received general acceptance among editors: at 5,20 (9.20–1) something is obviously missing from the tradition of P and Γ in the phrase *in qua* [sc. *philosophia*] *quod inchoatum est neque progressio quaedam ad virtutem appellatur.* Two different attempts have been made to solve the problem:

> *<absolutum>* added after *neque* τ, Frei, Vat.2; *neque <:credo desit: absolutum>* Linc
> *<perfectum>* added in margin Ricc.1, Laur.2; in text Ambr.2, Harl.2, Chis, Rom

The addition of *<absolutum>* was probably made in τ, by which the archetype of Frei, Linc and Vat.2 was contaminated. The origin of *<perfectum>*, however, is less certain: Laur.2 is the oldest manuscript in which it is found, but there it is a marginal addition by a later hand; the marginal addition in Ricc.1 is probably by Poggio and is followed by Rom and its apographs. The oldest manuscript to include *<perfectum>* in the text is Ambr.2. The reason for the addition of *<absolutum>* or *<perfectum>* is surely the close proximity of *absolutum* and *perfectio* at 5,20 (9.22).

The descendants of Conv divide into two types—the relatively unmarked families, generally of Florentine origin, and the marked groups from northern Italy. The unmarked families are generally consistent in their titles of the *Academicus Primus*, their subscriptions, their contents, and their treatment of variant readings: the marked groups also show similar titles and subscriptions, where they occur, but their contents vary enormously.

The unmarked descendants of Conv testify to two periods of activity during which Conv was in demand as an exemplar: firstly around 1410, soon after the copying of Conv itself, when Laur.1 and α were copied (Mon.2, a descendant of α, bears the date 1414), and the mid-15th century, when Gadd and κ were copied. The dating of Berl and ξ is less precise: Berl was probably written about 1430, although it is not certain that it was an immediate copy of Conv, and it is unclear when ξ was copied, although its witnesses appear to have been written at approximately the same time as Berl. The marked families both originated early: the earliest dated descendants of ψ are Linc (1420) and Ott.3 (1422), while the oldest dated descendant of τ is Dresd. 2 (ca. 1421).

It seems most likely, therefore, that all the copies of Conv were

made during Corbinelli's lifetime except Gadd and κ. Corbinelli thus becomes the focus of attention for the transmission of over three-quarters of the extant manuscripts of the *Academicus Primus*. Only one manuscript survives which we know to have been a direct copy of Conv and was written during Corbinelli's lifetime, and that belonged to his friend and exact contemporary, Ognibene Scola. Another family leads to Aurispa, and other friends are surely concealed by our inability to identify the first owners of descendants of α and other manuscripts. Circumstantial evidence, however, points to a friend of Corbinelli probably being responsible for the migration of descendants of Conv to north-east Italy.

Although we have no direct evidence of the nature of the extended note in Brescia, Bibl. Querin., A VII 1, which shows the tradition of his copy of the *De Legibus*,[141] we know that Guarino already knew enough of the *Academicus Primus* to quote it in 1412.[142] During the years 1410 to 1413 Guarino taught at Florence, staying as a guest in the house of Corbinelli; we may thus assume that Guarino received a copy of Conv between 1410 and 1412. (Subsequently Corbinelli met Venetian pupils of Guarino, including Francesco Barbaro, who visited Florence in 1415.) Thereafter copies of the *Academicus Primus* seem to follow Guarino: in 1414 he moved to Venice and in 1419 to Verona, where he stayed until 1429. It is exactly during this period that copies of the *Academicus Primus* with a provenance of north-east Italy and descent from Conv are found: Vind, Linc, Neap.3 and Ott.3, which must have passed through Venice on its way from Constantinople. In 1429 Guarino finally settled at Ferrara, where he lived into great old age. In later manuscripts which were written at Rome (Scor.1, Ott.1 and Ott.2) and Ferrara (Wash and Ambr.1) and elsewhere (Ces), Schmidt sees tell-tale signs of Guarino in the form of marginal notes and glosses.[143]

Evidence for the activities of Corbinelli is confined to Vespasiano's *Vite*, contemporary letters, and his own wills.[144] Only one letter written by Corbinelli has survived, and that, interestingly, is to Guarino.[145]

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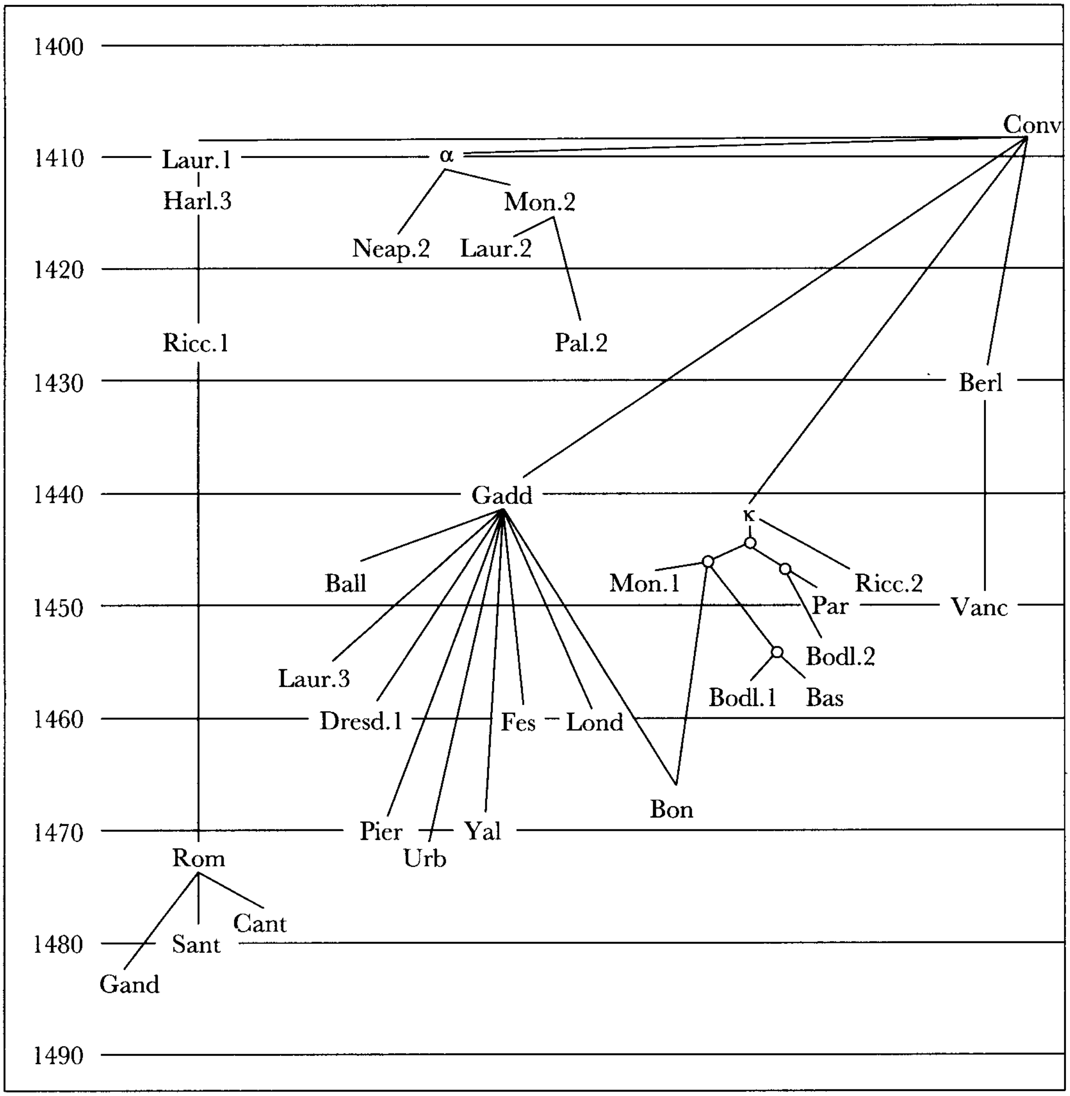
141 See Schmidt, 344.
142 See p. 33.
143 Schmidt, 353–4. Furthermore, two English pupils of Guarino, William Gray and Robert Flemmyng, both possessed copies of *Ac1* (Ball and Linc) which were ultimately descended from Conv, although not closely related to each other.
144 Thus Blum, 39.
145 Blum, 42.

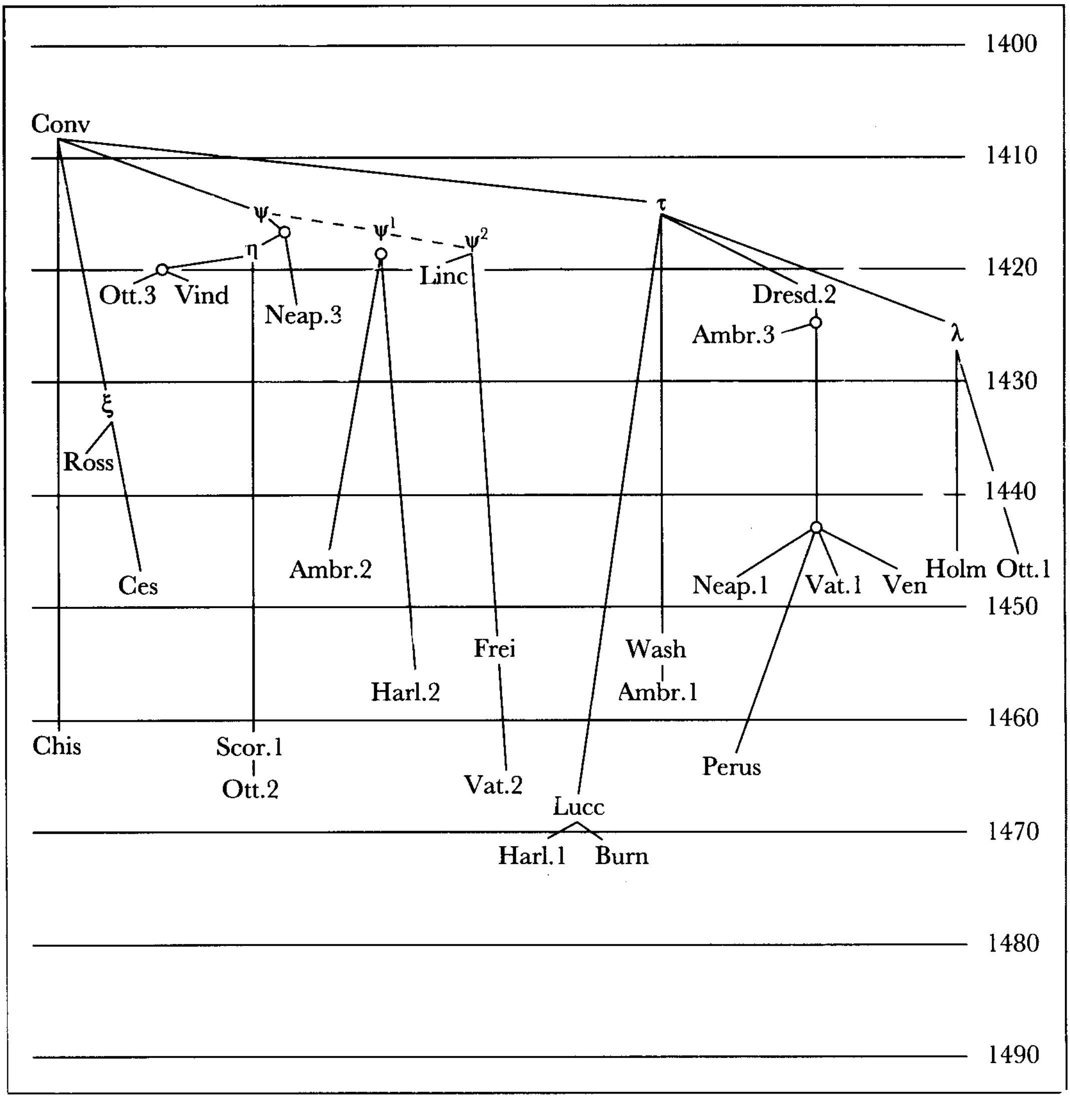
The Stemma of the *Deteriores* of the *Academicus Primus*

(Part One)



The Stemma of the *Deteriores* of the *Academicus Primus*

(Part Two)



Similarly only three letters exist which were addressed to Corbinelli, and they were all from Guarino.[146] But Corbinelli is mentioned in letters from Ambrogio Traversari to Francesco Barbaro and Niccolò Niccoli, from Aurispa to Traversari, from Poggio to Niccoli, from Guarino to Ognibene Scola, Niccoli, Paulo de Paulinis, Filippo Regino and Gerardo Barbadoro, and from Ognibene Scola to Guarino. And yet, in spite of his low profile, Corbinelli managed to build a collection of books which bore comparison with the finest in Italy: he owned at least 194 Latin and 79 Greek manuscripts, of which 105 and 65, respectively, were of classical authors. These figures compare with Boccaccio's library of 100 manuscripts, of which 50 were of classical authors, Niccoli's of about 600 with something like 400 classical texts, Cosimo de' Medici's of 60 Latin manuscripts in 1418, of which 30 were classical, the Visconti library of 1000 manuscripts in 1426, of which only 125 were classical, and the Este collection of 270 Latin manuscripts in 1436, including only 64 classical texts. There is little wonder, therefore, that, in announcing Corbinelli's death to Filippo Regino in August 1425, Guarino describes him with the epitaph *esse malebat quam videri.*[147]

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[146] Blum, 44.
[147] Sabbadini, *Epistolario* I 484–6 no. 327.

PART THREE

SINCE THE EDITIO PRINCEPS

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PRINTED EDITIONS

Whereas manuscripts are unique documents which were accessible to only a relatively small number of people, the emergence of printed editions offered the opportunity for scholars throughout Europe to concentrate on a common text, which could be progressively improved from reference to manuscripts and from their own emendations. But the result, as far as the *Academicus Primus* is concerned, was a text which progressed slowly from the narrow confines of the tradition of the *editio princeps*, low down among the *deteriores*, to one which read quite plausibly, owing mainly to emendation, but was still firmly fixed among the *deteriores*. With only one exception, editors presented conservative texts, which were founded on an *édition de base*. The break-through to a text which offered consistently better readings did not come about until recent times, when manuscripts of better quality were used and systematic methods of recension were employed.

Collation of a text in a large number of printed editions is a dry and time-consuming task. Generally editors content themselves, at best, with collating a number of early editions, in the hope of discerning the outline of any lost manuscript-tradition, and a few of the more recent editions, which contain the summation of plausible readings and emendations made up to that point. More often, an editor causes someone else's text to be reprinted with his own emendations, but without any recourse to manuscripts. As the purpose of this book is to trace the history of the text of the *Academicus Primus* from the time of Cicero down to today, I have collated as many editions as I have been able to get access to in an attempt to identify manuscripts and editions used by editors towards their texts.[1] The main advantage to be gained by an editor from such an approach is that of knowing the value of an emendation against the background of the manuscript tradition known to its originator; thus I would exclude from a critical edition many of the emendations

[1] I have collated approximately 40% of all editions and 75% if we exclude reprints.

reported by Plasberg in the *Editio Maior* as attempts to improve a faulty reading within the narrow confines of the manuscript tradition to which the editor had access, where a comprehensive recension provides a perfectly satisfactory reading.

As it happens, no lost manuscript-tradition appears through the printed editions; only the first edition of Lambinus presents readings which are startlingly different from the witness of extant manuscripts, and there seems to be general agreement that this is attributable to the intervention of Lambinus himself, as this phenomenon is not limited to the *Academicus Primus*. Until recent times the use of manuscript sources has been surprisingly little in evidence, and the vulgate text enjoyed a long period of acceptance.

The Diffusion

As far as I am aware, no study of printed editions of the *Academicus Primus* has previously been published. Lists have been produced for the works of Cicero in general,[2] and for other individual works:[3] the former are now hopelessly out of date, and the latter do not always cover the *Academicus Primus*. My own research has produced a list of editions which shows the *Academicus Primus* as a microcosm of the history of printing in general, subject to all the economic, social and political pressures which have shaped the destiny of the printed word.[4]

Analysis of the printed editions of the *Academicus Primus* shows the following distribution by century:[5]

[2] J.A. Fabricius (1698 and later; the fourth edition was by Ernesti in 1773), Ernesti (1774), the Bipontine edition of 1780, and Orelli (1836).

[3] Pease for *Div* and *Nat*.

[4] A list of printed editions containing *Ac1* is given in Appendix B.

[5] These figures compare with *Div* (up to 1923) and *Nat* (up to 1955), according to Pease, as follows:

	Div	*Nat*
15th	10	10
16th	55	59
17th	23	34
18th	37	44
19th	67	103
20th	9	7

Div and *Nat* have never been as popular as *Am*, *Sen* and *Off*, which were published forty times before 1500, according to Febvre & Martin, 359; *Div* and *Nat*, like *Ac1*, have had few editions dedicated to them singly, but usually occur as constituent parts of editions of the philosophical or complete works.

15th	5
16th	89
17th	39
18th	42
19th	63
20th	20

Against these stark figures several clear patterns emerge which locate the printed text of the *Academicus Primus* as a product of historical circumstances.

All the incunables of the *Academicus Primus* of which we are certain were published in Italy, but increasing political instability, in the form of invasions by the French and the establishment of Spanish power at Naples, led to the decline of printing for two centuries[6] and the passing of the centre of importance to France, where more than half the total output of editions containing the *Academicus Primus* was produced in the 16th century. While Paris, with its university, judiciary and royal court, as well as its status as capital of France, participated early in the publication of editions, it was Lyon, without a university but thriving on its position at a cross-roads between Italy, Switzerland and the German states at a particularly crucial time, with an annual book-fair, which led the way in numbers of editions.[7] Editions which emanated from Paris tended to be more original: those from Lyon were more commercial. As the century progressed and printing at Paris became more prone to interference from religious circles, so the distance of Lyon brought immunity from persecution and a more amenable atmosphere for printers.[8]

While the importance of Italy as a centre of publication had died before the end of the 16th century and that of France barely survived into the 17th century under the rigours of a tough economic climate, the output of the northern countries increased in the relatively freer atmosphere of the Reformation. Switzerland had already witnessed the flowering of a brief but glorious period of printing

[6] Sixteen editions were published in Italy in the 16th century, but only one in the 17th century, and eight in the 18th century.

[7] Of forty-six editions produced in France in the 16th century twenty-four came from Lyon and twenty-two from Paris.

[8] Febvre & Martin, 421, cite the example of Jean Frellon, who, on his return from Basle, 's'était fixé non pas à Paris... mais à Lyon, cité plus tolerante'. Further on, p. 431, they declare that 'A Lyon surtout, la liberté est totale, ou à peu près... A cette époque' [i.e. mid-16th century] 'les plus célèbres libraires et imprimeurs lyonnais favorisent l'hérésie' [i.e. Protestantism].

at Basle after it had joined the Swiss Confederation in 1501, with the editions of Curio, Bentinus and Herwagen;[9] by the end of the 16th century Geneva was taking over the rôle of principal source of editions in the French-speaking community with a succession of prints of the posthumous Lambinus edition with notes by Godefroy. Among the German-speaking states, publication of the *Academicus Primus* was limited to Strasbourg, where eight editions by Johannes Sturm were printed between 1541 and 1578 and the Lambinus text was published in 1581 by Rihel and Dupuys, until as late as 1590, after which editions sprang up at Frankfurt, Heidelberg, Hanover and Hamburg within thirty years; this wide diffusion of editions in Germany is a feature which has continued until the present century—while in most countries publications are limited to a few places (two in France and Belgium, three in Switzerland, four in Great Britain, and a maximum of seven in Italy), no fewer than sixteen cities in Germany have produced editions.

By the late 1620s saturation point had been reached and over the next hundred years (1628–1723) only fifteen editions were published in contrast to a total of 111 between 1521 and 1627. Of these, six were published in the Netherlands, which had previously produced no editions; this boom coincided with the marked prosperity which was enjoyed with liberation from Spanish domination and the beginnings of a colonial empire.

Progress was initially slow in the 18th century; after producing only a single edition in the 17th century, Italy saw the publication of eight editions in the 18th century, but these were all re-impressions of previous editions which had originally been published in Holland and France. Only four editions were published in France, where henceforth Paris is the only place of publication, although editions by Frenchmen were published in Britain, Italy, Holland, Switzerland and Germany. The 18th century is mainly notable for the emergence of England as a source of innovation through the work of Davies and his 'friend' (Bentley) and, as the century progressed, the German states mainly through the work of Ernesti. The growth in the number of editions from Germany (from five in the 17th century to sixteen and twenty-six in the 18th and 19th centuries, with

[9] See A.F. Johnson, *The First Century of Printing at Basle*, London, 1926; also, for a certain angle, P.G. Bietenholz, *Basle and France in the 16th Century* (Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance 112), Geneva, 1971.

particular centring on Leipzig, where the growth went from two in the 18th century to twenty in the 19th) is part of that growing self-awareness which culminated in unification. At the other end of the scale, Spain produced its only edition in 1797, and all four editions which have been published in Austria appeared within a 16-year span between 1786 and 1802.

After the low points reached in the 17th and 18th centuries, the 19th century saw the largest proliferation of editions of the *Academicus Primus* since the 16th century. The causes appear to be many: the movement in France, in particular, towards encyclopaedic productions of complete works of authors, including many parallel texts in Latin and French, the growth of an urban middle class which, apart from public institutions, represents the main book-buying group, the overall increase in literacy, improved methods of efficiency and quality in book-production, the stable international climate in post-Napoleonic Europe, and in Germany political awareness, which brought with it a flowering of scholarship. Germany, with twenty-six editions, and France, with sixteen, dominated the market-place in the 19th century; a further eight editions elsewhere bore the name of an editor (Ernesti and Schütz) who had first been published in Germany. Publication centred on Leipzig and Paris; 20 out of 26 German editions came from Leipzig and, naturally, Paris accounted for the whole production in France.

The supremacy of Leipzig lasted until just after the Great War; all six editions up to 1922 had been published by Teubner, with reprints of the Müller editions and the first printing of the larger and smaller editions of Plasberg. Since then the scene has been dominated by reprints of the Loeb parallel text in a shrinking market which has corresponded with a decline in classical studies in face of the onslaught of science.

A few observations on the geographical distribution of editions should be attempted before we pass on to a discussion of the more important editions. Firstly, editions of the *Academicus Primus* have been published in ten countries only:[10]

[10] Editions from Strasbourg are included in the German figures because they were published at a time when it was part of the Empire, albeit a Free City (1541–81). Basle and Geneva are treated as part of Switzerland since the early 16th century. Where an edition was published in more than one country simultaneously, or where the place of publication is in doubt, I have included both places. I have

	Century						
	15th	16th	17th	18th	19th	20th	Total
Italy	4	16	1	8	5	3	37
France		51	7	4	17	2	81
Germany		11	5	16	25	8	65
Switzerland		11	19	3	3		36
Belgium		1			1		2
Great Britain		1	1	7	9	7	25
Netherlands			6	2	3		11
Austria				2	2		4
Spain				1			1
USA					2	7	9

Secondly, the movement of early printed editions is shown by the copying of Gand, Cant and Sant from the *editio princeps* probably in northern France or the Low Countries within only a dozen or so years of its publication at Rome. Lastly, a large percentage of the printed editions (67%) came from three countries which had between them at some time or other only a small percentage (19%) of known manuscripts: France (4 mss.), Germany (10), Switzerland (0).[11] Of these thirteen manuscripts, there is certain evidence for the use of only five towards editions before Halm.[12] If we enlarge the picture to consider all editions and all manuscripts, the use of manuscripts towards editions is still relatively low, as will become apparent in what follows.

The Text

Previous attempts to present the textual tradition of the *Academicus Primus* in printed editions have usually consisted of a few notes, often from hearsay, against each entry in a list of editions. The only attempt to impose any overall structure on the data was that of the Bipontine edition, where the printed editions were classified into *aetates*, which represent a mixture of historical and stemmatic relationships up to 1780:[13]

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not included the unlocated edition of 1475. The editions of Goerenz and Halm I have located at Leipzig and Zürich only, respectively.

[11] Germany: Amst, Berl, Dresd.1, Dresd.2, Frei, Mon.1, Mon.2, Pal.1, Pal.2, Wash; France: Berl (again), P, Par, Vict.

[12] Namely, Wash, Pal.1, Pal.2, Dresd.1 and Dresd.2.

[13] Bipontine, I lxxxi–ci.

Aetas	I	Natalis 1467–1519
	II	Aldino-Basiliensis 1519–1537
	III	Victorio-Manutiana 1534–1540
	IV	Manutio-Lambiniana et Brutina
	V	Victorio-Gruteriana
	VI	Eclectica

While it is possible to fault the divisions made on the grounds of the repetition of Victorius and Manutius in different *aetates*, this approach at least presents the data in a digestible form.

As with most classical works, the printed text of the *Academicus Primus* started in a narrow corner of the tradition and underwent successive cycles of improvement through emendation, eclectic selection from previous editions, and the application of readings from manuscripts. The overall result was that the text had settled down to look like a decent member of the *deteriores* by the mid-16th century, and had approached the realms of a member of the P family by the early 17th century. But it was not until the third quarter of the 19th century that readings from the Γ tradition started to appear, and a balanced text was not achieved until early in the present century. On only very few occasions were radical changes made to the *textus receptus*. In fact, the only editions in which the use of at least one new manuscript took place, either according to the claims of the editor or from a collation of his text, are those of Minutianus, Naugerius (Aldine 1523), Victorius, Gruter, Davies, Goerenz, Halm, Reid and Plasberg; the Ernesti edition printed at Oxford in 1783 contained variant readings from three manuscripts in an appendix, but did not use them towards the text. Innovative emendations from conjecture are a feature of the editions of Paulus Manutius and Lambinus (1565 only); otherwise, editors have either repeated an existing text with cosmetic changes, or have created a hybrid text from other editions. Some editions have achieved the status of a *textus receptus* for other reasons; chief among these are the posthumous editions of Lambinus, Olivetus' beautifully printed but worthless text, and the much reprinted edition of Ernesti. In the remainder of this chapter I discuss those editions which were influential either in changing the direction which the vulgate text took or in providing a text which served as the standard for a lengthy period of time.[14] In every

[14] Only those editions are discussed which I have been able to collate, i.e. those in Appendix B which are marked with an asterisk.

case I try to show which editions were the first to report readings which form part of Plasberg's text, whether from a manuscript tradition or from conjecture.

a. *Minutianus*

Among the early printed editions which contain the *Academicus Primus*, the incunables (Sweynheim & Pannartz, de Pensis, Bivilaqua and Minutianus) and their early 16th-century copies (Ascensius (3), Bentinus and Herwagen) form a related group against the innovations of the first Aldine and its successors. In them the *textus receptus* of Ricc.1 is slowly refined to produce a more readable text within the limitations of a narrow manuscript tradition. Only in the edition of Minutianus is there evidence of the use of a manuscript from outside this tradition.

The evidence for grouping these nine editions together consists of over 50 readings which are found in all of them, but nowhere else. The edition of de Pensis[15] is clearly a copy of the *editio princeps*; there are no omissions or additions to the text which are not found in Sweynheim & Pannartz, but there are thirty readings where de Pensis differs from the *editio princeps*, all attributable to error or correction (sometimes hypercorrection). De Pensis, in turn, is followed by Bivilaqua: externally Bivilaqua's edition closely follows the page layout of de Pensis, although with greater use of abbreviation, and internally it follows all de Pensis' differences from the *editio princeps*.

Alexander Minutianus (ca. 1450–1522) had the distinction of producing the first edition of Cicero's collected works at Milan in 1498–9. Although it has been suggested that Minutianus had been at work on it since 1490,[16] it is clear that Minutianus used de Pensis or Bivilaqua (or both) as his *édition de base*: this is shown by his presentation of *involutus* for *involutis* at 4,15 (7.3) and *perarendum* for *parendum* at 5,19 (9.2), readings which are found in no manuscripts or any other editions than de Pensis and Bivilaqua. But Minutianus must have used another source towards his edition, for he makes

[15] Rendered into Italian as Cristoforo Pincio by Pease, *Nat* 98, and Christofolo Pensa by Norton, 146.

[16] By A. Guillon, 'Sur l'édition princeps du receuil des oeuvres de Cicéron et sur Alexandre Minutianus auteur de cette édition', in *La Bibliographie de la France, Journal de la Librairie*, 10–24 June 1820 (reprinted separately and held as British Libr., 11900.d.26). The suggestion appears on pp. 7–8 of the reprint.

good 28 omissions which were made by Sweynheim & Pannartz, de Pensis and Bivilaqua, and removes two additions to the text which appear in the earlier editions. Minutianus' was the first edition to read *quaere* for *quare* at 1,2 (1.16) with P^m, $Pal.1^m$, $Amst^m$ and Mu, and *dissidium* for *discidium* at 12,43 (18.25) with Mu, F, L, V, Ged and Scor.2; both of these readings are found in modern editions. Of particular significance are the readings *physica* for *philosophica* at 2,6 (3.11), *citroque* for *in utroque* at 7,28 (12.24), and the inclusion of *hic nec id ullo modo fieri posse disserebat* in the text at 10,38 (16.10): the first reading is found among descendants of Γ and the family of τ, which was contaminated by a descendant of Γ; the second reading is found only in Γ; the last is found only in Γ and P and its close family, its omission being a feature of the *deteriores* as a whole. Even if we cannot identify the exact manuscript which he used, this seems at least to suggest that Minutianus used a member of the Γ tradition.[17] At any rate, we have a direct refutation of the long-held view that Minutianus' edition 'is little more than a reimpression of the previous editions . . . it appears that Minutianus did not consult a single manuscript; but merely collated the editions previously published'.[18] The result of Minutianus' work was that the vulgate text moved away from Ricc.1 and Rom to a less marked position; but, despite the presentation of readings from Γ, it still represented the *deteriores*.

The early 16th-century editions, with the exception of the Aldine, followed Minutianus with small modifications, but without the use of new manuscripts. The four editions of Ascensius (Josse Bade) generally followed Minutianus,[19] but some new readings were introduced in the 1511 edition, such as *ecquid* for *et si quid* at 1,2 (1.16), *tum* for *dum* at 6,22 (10.7), *videbatur* for *videatur* at 6,22 (10.9), and the omission of *in* at 11,39 (16.26). In Ascensius we first find the following readings which are also found in the Γ tradition: *Aeschylum* for *Aeschinem* at 3,10 (5.11), and *essent* for *sint* at 4,14 (6.30) with F and Ged, and

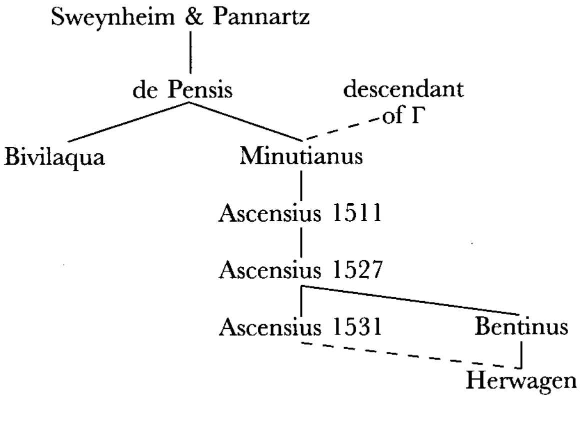
[17] Norton, 45, comments that Janus Parrhasius, the owner of two descendants of Γ (N_1 and N_2), was a patron of Le Signerre, who published the Minutianus edition.

[18] Dibdin, 389–90. Orelli, 197, concurs: *Editio MSS non usus est, sed repetiit editiones priores.* In the dedication Minutianus himself stated: *Quare ex diversis bibliothecis compluribus conquisitis Ciceronis operibus: quae in nostram hanc aeditionem consulerem, et si ex unico exemplari lancinato (ut arbitror) & carioso descripta videbantur, ab illo tamen temporum culpa ita degenerarunt: ut ab ipso Cicerone si reviviceret, vix sua agnoscerentur.*

[19] Thus Dibdin, 391, Deschamps, 50, and Pease, *Nat* 90. For *Fin*, however, Madvig, xxxviii, saw the source as the Cologne edition of Ulrich Zell.

etiam for *et* at 2,5 (3.2) with Γ and P all appear from 1511; *ad augendum* for *ad agendum* at 5,21 (10.2) with all the descendants of Γ except Ma and Scor.2 first appears in the 1527 edition. Small changes were made to the text of the 1527 and 1531 editions, such as the replacement of *quantam* by *quantum* at 2,7 (3.29), of *differant* by *differebant* at 4,17 (7.26), and *uter* by *intra* at 7,29 (13.9) in the 1527 edition, and of *repugnat* by *repugnans* at 5,19 (8.29) in the 1531 edition. The 1527 edition served as the basis for the text of Bentinus, despite the assertion of Orelli that he used Heidelberg manuscripts, as is shown by the reading of *intra* at 7,29 (13.9), while Bentinus formed the basis for Herwagen, as Orelli correctly concluded, but with an awareness of the 1531 edition of Ascensius, as is shown by the reading of *repugnans* at 5,19 (8.29), again despite Herwagen's own claim in the dedication: *Neque enim recentes Gallicas et Germanicas editiones consuluimus, sed antiquissimis exemplaribus, Romanis, Florentinis, Venetis, usi sumus, plerisque etiam manu scriptis, & ex superiore seculo ad nos transmissis, quae doctissimorum virorum iudicio, vulgaribus istis editionibus, longe praeferri cognovimus.*

At this early stage in the history of the printed editions the tradition is sufficiently closed to permit the following *stemma editionum* to be constructed:



b. *The Aldine editions*

The text of the first Aldine edition, edited by Naugerius (Andreas Navagero: 1483–1529), broke away from the tradition established by the *editio princeps* and refined by Minutianus, and created the basic vulgate which would pass through two generations of descendants of Aldus Manutius and last into the 17th century. It is most likely that

Naugerius based his recension on the 1511 edition of Ascensius: the reading in the Aldine text of *ecquid* at 1,2 (1.16) and *tum* at 6,22 (10.7), which are not found in any extant manuscripts, and the preference for ποιότητας in Greek characters at 7,25 (11.18), found in only one manuscript, which are all presented in the first Ascensian edition, clearly indicate such a probability.[20]

The new direction which the Aldine text took was due to the use of one or more manuscripts from a tradition which had not yet been consulted for the *Academicus Primus.* There are over 150 differences between the texts of Ascensius and Naugerius. The majority of these differences consist of the removal of errors which had been handed down through the *editio princeps.* The result of this process in the Aldine is a text which represents the *deteriores* as a whole; but some readings appear which show the approximate identity of the manuscript which was used: *attulisti et verbis* for *et verbis attulisti* at 3,9 (4.27), *ea* omitted at 4,16 (7.18), *quandam* omitted at 6,24 (11.8), *moderatus* for *moratus* at 9,33 (14.24–5), and the omissions of *ipsum* at 10,38 (16.11) and of *per se* at 11,41 (17.15) are all presented by Dresd.2 and its descendants. This family of manuscripts originated in Milan, although one member has been at Venice at least since the early 19th century, where it may have been written and where the Aldine edition was published.[21] But the Aldine shows no regular pattern of agreement with any individual member of the family.

Among further readings which are first found in the Aldine are *a qua absum tam* for *aqua assumptam* at 4,14 (6.22), *prima in natura* for *in prima natura* at 6,22 (10.10) and *docere* for *doce* at 12,43 (18.24). While *prima in natura* appears in the group which includes Dresd.2 and its family and originated through contamination with a member of the Γ tradition, and *a qua absum tam* is found as a correction in some *deteriores, docere* is found only in Γ and as the original reading in P. The first Aldine edition brought two further innovations to the form of the book: firstly, the size of the book was reduced to handbook size (10 × 16.5 cm) and an italic type was used for the first time;[22] secondly, there is an interesting attempt to introduce a copyright notice:

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[20] In the 1511 edition, however, the last reading was given as ποιτοητας (*sic*, without accent).

[21] Ven. The editor of the Aldine, Naugerius, was librarian at the Marciana.

[22] This edition thus conforms to the description of Aldine texts by Steinberg, 74, as 'at the same time scholarly, compact, handy, and cheap'.

Ne quis alius aut Venetiis, aut usquam locorum hos
impune libros impune imprimat, et Leonis X
Pontificis Maximi, et senatus Ve
neti decreto cautum est.

This device was only partly successful; while there is no example of a pirated text of the *Academicus Primus* of the type described by Steinberg,[23] the Aldine was reproduced, with and without acknowledgment, in varying degrees of faithfulness.

Firstly, the Venetian edition published *in officina Erasmiana* by Comin da Trino in 1540 and possibly edited by Vincent Vaugris, which has escaped the notice of previous compilers of lists of editions of Cicero, was virtually a reprint of the Aldine, without any form of acknowledgment; the only difference consists of eight errors introduced into the later edition.[24] Next, the Aldine was used in fairly equal proportions with an Ascensian edition by Victorius, and preponderantly by Sturm over Victorius in the first of many editions which appeared over a period of nearly forty years at Strasbourg. Lastly, the Aldine edition formed the basis of the text of the next generation of the Manutius family.

Paulus Manutius (1512–74) first edited the philosophical works of Cicero in 1541; subsequently Paulus' text was published six times by the family firm, twice by Robert Estienne, and once each by Charles Estienne and Sebastianus Gryphius. Textual changes were made between several of the editions, but the underlying text remained that of Naugerius in the first Aldine edition. Although Olivetus claimed that Paulus Manutius used Venetian manuscripts towards his text, I have found no such evidence in the *Academicus Primus*; readings are taken from the editions of Ascensius, Victorius and Herwagen, but the most significant difference lies in the inclusion of several emendations without any known manuscript authority, such as the reading of *ecquid* for *et si quid* at 1,2 (1.12), the deletion of *etiam* and the reading of *unam* for *virtutem* at 2,5 (3.2), the deletion of *et* at 7,26 (12.6), the reading of *ne idem* for *eidem* at 8,31 (13.27), and the deletion of *at* at 11,41 (17.20). The last two readings won favour with editors and have been the regular readings ever since. The inclusion of *etiam* at 2,6 (3.13) among the scholia, of *malent* at

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[23] Steinberg, 76.

[24] This is the smallest book to contain *Ac1*, measuring only 10.7 × 6.5 cm per volume.

3,10 (5.3), of *Graeca desideres* for *Graecia desideret* at 3,12 (6.1) in the 1552 edition, and the deletion of *et* at 5,19 (8.27) in the 1555 edition suggest a progressive awareness of the Γ tradition. The editions published at Venice all seem to be based on their immediate predecessor, while the 1555 edition of Charles Estienne is based on that of 1543 by his brother Robert, who had also, it will be noted, published the text of Victorius in 1538. As new editions succeeded older ones, the text changed subtly with new readings taken from Sturm, Victorius and Turnebus, as well as further conjectures by the editor himself. Thus the 1565 edition differed from that of 1541 in over 30 readings. The last Aldine edition, that of Aldus the grandson in 1583, was nothing other than a reprint of Paulus' last edition of 1565.

The long run of fourteen editions by the Gryphius family—by Sebastianus until 1557, in 1559 by his heirs, and from 1570 until 1585 by Antonius—also had their starting point among the editions of Paulus Manutius. The 1546 edition was based closely on the 1543 edition of Robert Estienne,[25] but Antonius appears to have been heavily influenced by Lambinus in the 1574 edition, reverting to a more central text by 1585, influenced by one of the posthumous Lambinus editions. The 1574 edition was the first to read *referentur* for *referrentur* at 5,19 (9.4) with Γ, but this was the only niche which a Gryphius could claim to have occupied in the textual history of the *Academicus Primus*.

The editions of Duchesne in 1558 and 1561 were based on another Parisian publication, the 1543 edition of Robert Estienne, with one reading taken from Turnebus. The influence of the Manutius text underwent a revival in the following century: the Elzevir edition of 1642, followed by Blaeu in 1659, was based on more than one of the editions of the 1550s and a Gryphius edition of 1585. There is no possibility that the text of Gruter served as the base for these editions, as Brunet believed, in spite of the following statement contained in the edition itself:[26]

> *Editioni nihil ut deesset, optimas secuti sumus, et quae maxime probantur: ita tamen, ut non una, sed et aliae, ab ea quam exprimebamus, in consilium adhiberentur. Jani Gulielmi in primis ac Gruteri.*

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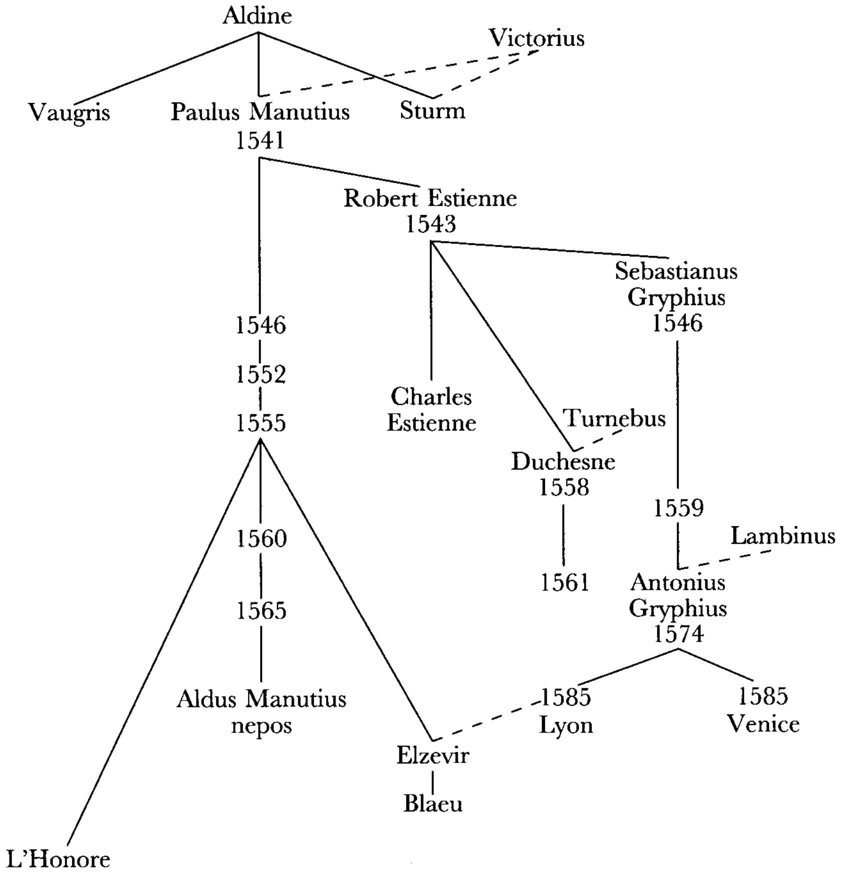
[25] But the 1540 edition, which I have not collated, cannot have come from the same source.

[26] Brunet, 8; Elzevir, in the *Amico Lectori* in vol. I.

It was as late as in 1689 that the text of Paulus Manutius was last used as the base for an edition—that of L'Honoré, as he himself stated in his preface. By now the vulgate was being supplied by the edition of Gruter, already 70 years old, but it is a reflection of the high reputation enjoyed by Paulus Manutius and the relative lack of progress made during the 17th century that a 130-year-old text could be considered suitable when many better source documents were available. The stemma of the Aldine tradition may be represented thus:



c. *Victorius*

Victorius (Pier Vettori: 1499–1585) has been credited with doing more for Cicero 'than all later editions combined up to the end of the 17th century'.[27] As far as the *Academicus Primus* is concerned, his contribution amounted to drawing together the traditions of Minutianus and the Aldine editions, and producing a fluent and readable text which was short-lived as a vulgate, but enjoyed a high reputation among later editors, enhanced by its handsome format.

On the title-page of the volume in which the philosophical works appear, Victorius asserts that they were *nuper ad fidem vetustissimorum exemplarium diligentissime recognita.* Moreover Madvig states that Victorius used the edition of Sweynheim & Pannartz and at least two manuscripts, of which one was München, Staatsbibl., Clm 763 (Mon.2),[28] while Olivetus states that Victorius used Florentine manuscripts,[29] and the Bipontine edition narrows the field down to a *ms. Mediceus.*[30] Collation of his text shows that Victorius used the Aldine edition, a member of the Minutianus tradition (probably the 1531 edition of Ascensius), and a manuscript from among the *deteriores.*[31] He followed a rigorous method: where the two printed editions agree, he followed them; where they disagree, he used the manuscript evidence to support one or the other. The Aldine and Ascensian editions differ in 138 readings: in sixty-five of these Victorius followed Ascensius, and in seventy-three he presented the reading of the Aldine. The identity of the manuscript which Victorius used is obscured because his text resembles an unmarked member of the *deteriores.* That this manuscript may not have been Mon.2, which he is known to have owned, is suggested by Victorius' preference for *aqua absumptam* at 4,14 (6.22), where Mon.2 reads as a marginal interpolation *a qua*

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[27] Thus Pease, *Nat* 91, rendered the opinion of Johannes Graevius (1632–1703) in the preface to his edition of the *Letters*, as reported by Niccolai, 198: *Uni Victorio plus Cicero debet quam reliquis omnibus qui in eo perpoliendo tempus studiumque posuerunt.*

[28] Madvig, xxxviii–xxxix; Mon.2 was no. 58 in Victorius' library.

[29] Olivetus, I 4; Mon.2 is a Florentine ms.

[30] Bipontine, I lxxxiv; Mon.2 did not belong to the Medici, as far as we know.

[31] Madvig, xxii–xxiii, records annotations made by Victorius in a copy of the 1521 Ascensius edition, including a statement at the end of book two of *Fin* that he had collated a manuscript at St Mark's. Readings from the Aldine edition were noted *Ald.*

absum tam, which first appeared in the Aldine edition and has usually been the preferred reading ever since.

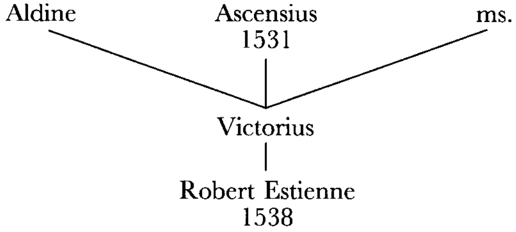
Two years after Victorius' edition was published at Venice by Lucantonio Giunta, another edition, which has generally been accepted as by Victorius, was published at Paris by Robert Estienne. The latter contains Victorius' dedication to Nicolaus Ardinghellus, as well as those of Naugerius to Pope Leo X, Pietro Bembo and Jacopo Sadoleto, and partial scholia and corrigenda of Victorius, and the copy consulted is bound with Victorius' *Explicationes suarum in Ciceronem Castigationum*.[32] The title-page of the edition, however, reads *M.T. Ciceronis Opera Ex Petri Victorii codicibus maxima ex parte descripta etc.*, and the text is not exactly the same as the Victorius edition of 1536. In addition to orthographic differences, the Estienne edition reverts to a pre-Victorius tradition in the following readings: *naturae* for *natura* at 4,15 (7.8) with all except the Aldine edition, *partem illam* for *illam partem* at 5,19 (9.1) with all editions, *discedit* for *dissedit* at 9,34 (15.5) with the Aldine, and *opinionesque* for *opinionisque* at 10,39 (16.22) and *Epicuro* for *Epicureo* at 12,46 (20.7) with Minutianus etc.

Apart from the 1538 edition of Robert Estienne and a reprint of Victorius at Florence in 1571, the only editor to make substantial use of Victorius was Johannes Sturm: of seventy-two readings where the Aldine text differs from that of Victorius, Sturm follows Victorius in twenty-one.[33] Yet the influence of Victorius in later editions has been immense: he is specifically named by Gruter, Schrevelius, Verburgius, Davies, Olivetus, Schütz and Orelli for the quality of his text.

The following simple stemma illustrates the sources of Victorius' edition:

[32] British Libr., C81.k.9. There are no *castigationes* which relate to *Ac1*, however.

[33] Thus the observation of Steinberg, 76, that Sturm 'brought out reprints of Aldine editions for the use of his students' is numerically nearer to the truth for *Ac1* than for *Nat*, where Pease, *Nat* 90, comments that Sturm's text is based on that of Victorius. Similarly, Pease remarks that Gryphius 'reproduces the edition of Victorius'. Lallemand, in his edition of 1768, lists an edition of Victorius at Basle in 1540 *cum castigationibus Joachimi Camerarii*: this looks like a reference to the edition published by Herwagen, which I have not been able to consult. Camerarius' *In M. Tul. Ciceronem Annotationes* were published separately by Sebastianus Gryphius at Lyon in 1552, but the only reference to *Ac1*, on p. 20, is to the reading *L. Aelii* for *Laelii* at 2,8 (4.9). Interestingly, in the preface he gives a contemporary view of Victorius' edition: *Sed visa interdum quaedam nimis contra receptam et usitatam lectionem exquisita. In quibusdam etiam nimis illum suis exemplis tribuisse coepimus suspicari.*



d. *Talaeus and Turnebus*

During the 16th century not only did Paris witness editions of the philosophical works as a whole, by Ascensius, the Estiennes and Lambinus, but a succession of editions of the *Academicus Primus*, sometimes alone and sometimes accompanied by the *Lucullus*, also began to appear. Both works had first been published together in the edition of Simon de Colines in 1535; subsequently, after the first edition of the *Academicus Primus* alone had been published at Louvain in 1542, the work was published at Paris by Colines in 1545 without the *Lucullus*, and in the editions of Talaeus in 1547 and 1550 (reprinted at Basle in 1576),[34] Turnebus in 1553 (republished by Comelinus at Heidelberg in 1594), and Duchesne in 1558 and 1561. So much activity directed towards a previously neglected work was partly due to the increased interest in the Academy generated by Petrus Ramus.[35] Talaeus (Omer Talon: 1510–62) was a follower of Ramus, while Adrianus Turnebus (1512–65) was an opponent, as was Lambinus. The editions of Talaeus and Turnebus do not fully share a common textual tradition, but are products of a common intellectual environment.

Talaeus' edition consists of an introduction to the Academy, the text, and a commentary; his interest is philosophical rather than philological and there is no discussion of textual points, or mention of any previous editions, but the text is an amalgamation of readings from four sources, all of them printed. There is an almost equal distribution of readings from Victorius (43) and Manutius (41), where they differ, and at ten places the reading of the *editio princeps* and Minutianus tradition is preferred, probably from the Ascensian edition

[34] According to Schmitt, 81–2, the 1550 edition of Talaeus contained *Ac1* and *Luc*, but the copy consulted contained only *Ac1*.

[35] For a full discussion of Talaeus, Turnebus, and the Academy at Paris, see Schmitt, 78–108.

of 1531; in a further three readings the 1543 edition of Robert Estienne is followed. There are six innovations in Talaeus' text against the earlier printed tradition: *nec percontari* omitted at 1,2 (1.14), <*me*> *honores* at 3,11 (5.16), <*et*> *copiose* at 4,16 (7.11), *expressionem* for *impressionem* at 5,19 (9.12), *posuit* for *posui* at 6,23 (10.28), and *censebat* for *censebant* at 12,45 (19.12). All except the first and fifth are found in manuscripts, but no clear pattern of agreement is visible between Talaeus and the manuscripts which show the other four readings; the innovations are all understandable as corrections by the editor and do not require the aid of a manuscript.

The edition of Turnebus contains the text of the *Academicus Primus* and a commentary, which shows a greater concern with the constitution of the text than Talaeus.[36] Turnebus refers by name only to an edition of Manutius in the commentary, and that only once, but elsewhere records his thanks to George Buchanan for the deletion of *dicendi* at 8,32 (14.12) as a gloss, and mentions the use of a manuscript.[37] Analysis of Turnebus' text confirms the use of the 1541 edition of Paulus Manutius, together with the 1531 Ascensian and Talaeus, and possibly Victorius. The identity of the manuscript, however, is far from clear; manuscript readings which are found in Turnebus for the first time are: *et verbis luminis* for *luminis et verbis* with Ball and Laur.2[c] at 3,9 (4.27), <*a*> *Graecia* with Ott.2 and Scor.1 at 3,12 (6.1), *nesciunt* for *nesciant* with Neap.1 and Harl.2 at 4,16 (7.14), *oratione* for *ratione* with V, Scor.2 and Ces at 8,30 (13.14–15), and *autem esse* for *esse autem* with Gand, Sant, Ambr.3, Neap.1, Perus, Vat.1 and Ven at 12,43 (18.18). Turnebus introduced several conjectural innovations to his text or in his notes: *ne suspicari quidem* for *nec suspicari* and *sive* for *si vero* at 2,7 (3.24), *sedium* for *sedem* at 3,9 (4.24), *eam* for *da* at 3,10 (5.4), *providentiam* for *prudentiam* at 7,29 (13.5–6), *evenire* for *inter* at 7,29 (13.9), *interdum* for *non numquam* at 7,29 (13.11), *notionibus* for *motionibus* at 8,32 (14.2), the omission of *dicendi* at 8,32 (14.12), and *et velut iam ante* for *et veluti amantes* at 12,44 (19.2). The conjectures *ne . . . quidem* and *sedium* (or *sedum*) have eventually won the approval of recent editors; the other emendations won more immediate acceptance by Lambinus, who, as we shall see, was

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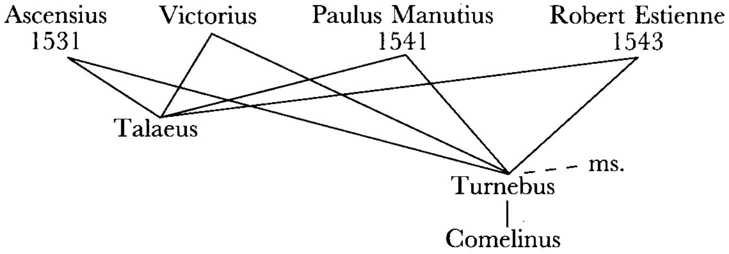
[36] Even so, Reid, 70, states that 'To Adrian Turnebus belongs the credit of being the first to advance the interpretation of the Academica by an appeal to the sources of the ancient philosophy'.

[37] Turnebus, 11: *nec in libro scripto reperi.*

strongly influenced by Turnebus. These readings testify to Turnebus' 'acumen, judgment, and conjectural gifts',[38] but it is strange that Turnebus does not seem to have used a *codex vetustus* towards his text when P, for example, may have been close at hand.

The later influence of Turnebus has been such that, while only Comelinus reproduced his text[39] and no-one else appears to have used it as the base for an edition, many editors have specifically counted Turnebus among the influences on their text. Lambinus, Gruter, Davies, Olivetus, de Allio, Lallemand, Schütz, Reid and Plasberg all fall into this category to a greater or lesser extent. The pedigree of Talaeus' and Turnebus' texts is:



e. *Lambinus*

Lambinus (Denis Lambin: 1520–72) is generally credited with being the finest Latinist of his age, often anticipating readings which would come to light in later centuries from the manuscripts themselves. On the other hand, 'he was not content to try and find out what Cicero did write, but loved to introduce into the text countless small alterations which he thought improvements, but which were without evidence to support them. Also he destroyed in a great measure the value of his work by disingenuousness in attributing his own conjectures to MSS sources.'[40] Lambinus spent eleven years of his relatively short life in Italy, where it is known that he consulted a large number of

[38] L.D. Reynolds & N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, Oxford, 1975, 156.

[39] Comelinus' publication, which included *Fat* as well as *Ac1*, incorporated into the text itself readings which had been placed by Turnebus in a list of *errata* and *praetermissa* at the end of his commentary.

[40] Reid, 70. Olivetus, in his edition of 1758, p. ix, reported Muretus, *Var. Lect.* XVIII.7, as saying of Lambinus: *librariorum errata non tollebat; sed Ciceronem ipsum quando non satis commode locutus videbatur, corrigebat.*

manuscripts and laid the foundations for his later publications.[41]

As far as his text of the *Academicus Primus* is concerned,[42] we must distinguish between the 1565 edition, where he allowed free rein to his linguistic skills, and all subsequent editions—at least thirty in number—which were published after his death and where a vulgate text was printed together with some of Lambinus' emendations as marginal notes or scholia,[43] later with additional notes by Fulvio Orsini or Denis Godefroy.

For the 1565 edition, Lambinus' *annotatiunculae* reveal the use of Turnebus and a *codex Memmianus*; agreements with Turnebus usually consist of the inclusion in Lambinus' text of readings which are suggested in Turnebus' animadversions and include *sive* at 2,7 (3.24), *eam* at 3,10 (5.4), *ex qua* for *ea qua* or *eaque* at 6,24 (11.1), *providentiam* at 7,29 (13.5–6), and *notionibus* at 8,32 (14.2), while the only reading ascribed to the codex, *augendum* without *ad* at 5,21 (10.2), is not found in any extant manuscript: the Γ tradition reads *ad augendum*, which had already been presented in the editions of Ascensius (1527 and 1531), Bentinus, Herwagen, Victorius and Turnebus, and P prefers *ad agendum*—*ad* is omitted by only three of the *deteriores*. Other references to unspecified manuscripts include the correct observations *vulgati libri habent 'non multum haesitans': nos vocem 'multum', non repertam in libris manuscript. delendam curavimus* at 2,4 (2.18), *liber manuscript. habet 'et quasi rerum notis ducibus utebatur'* at 8,32 (14.7–8), where his text omits *ducibus*, *liber unus manuscript. habet 'et ita moratus'* at 9,33 (14.24–5), where *moderatus* had become the vulgate reading since the first Aldine edition, and *sic est legendum, et ita scriptum est in uno antiquo codice* of *discidium* for *dissidium* at 12,43 (18.25). On the other hand, his claim *sic habet cod. unus vetus* for *notionibus* at 8,32 (14.2) is not supported by any extant manuscript. Elsewhere references are to *libri veteres* and *libri vulgati*, which look to be printed editions, and at 11,42 (18.9) Lambinus admits *legendum fortasse est, 'viae aperiuntur': verum tamen nihil mutare ausim sine librorum veterum auctoritate*![44] Yet Lambinus' text reveals twenty-eight new readings which are not found in any manuscript and are likely to be his own conjectures; these include *longo*

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[41] Thus Mrs Griffiths in Kenney, 65 n. 1.

[42] And, probably, the works of Cicero as a whole.

[43] This observation was made of the 1573 edition by Mrs Griffiths in Kenney, 67 n. 4.

[44] According to Schmidt, 172 n. 32, the *codex Memmianus* was an edition with conjectures added by Henri de Mesmes.

intervallo eum for *eum longo intervallo* at 1,1 (1.10–1), *continuantur* for *contineantur* at 2,6 (3.12), *ea materiae* for *geometria* at 2,6 (3.13–14), *autem* for *enim* at 2,6 (3.18), *Epicurus* <*se*> at 2,7 (3.23), *vel* for *ne* at 2,7 (3.24), *sacerdotum* <*munera*> at 3,9 (4.23), *sim* <*me*> at 5,18 (8.23), *et* for *haec* at 7,29 (13.12), *dicebat* for *docebat* at 10,36 (15.27), *servata* for *et servata* at 10,37 (16.4), and <*in*> *alia* at 10,39 (16.20). While some of these readings are obvious attempts to improve the quality of the still narrow manuscript tradition, such as the change of *contineantur* to *continuantur*, where the governing *cum* was not 'discovered' until the 19th century and the insertion of *me*, which was missing from the P tradition, others, such as the change of *etiam* to *autem* and the addition of *se*, were good enough to survive up to the latest editions.

Among so many conjectures we might lose sight of readings in Lambinus which are also found in Γ, such as *quam* for *quoniam* at 2,6 (3.14), *hominis* for *omnis* at 4,16 (7.17), *quidem* omitted at 7,29 (13.11), *assensione* for *assertione* at 12,45 (19.15), and *assensionem* for *assertionem* at 12,45 (19.19). Do they mean that Lambinus used a member of that tradition or are they fortuitous corrections? I suspect the former, although no individual member of the Γ tradition is an obvious source. Perhaps Lambinus' time in Italy provided the opportunity to collate one of the Italian descendants of Γ.

Although it is clear, from his own admission and from some readings in his text, that Lambinus used the edition of Turnebus, it did not serve as a base edition around which he set about his orgy of emendation. That distinction appears to belong to either the 1541 edition of Manutius, the 1543 edition of Robert Estienne or the 1555 edition of Charles Estienne: for, while the edition of Lambinus shares with Turnebus only 36% of readings where there are differences between Lambinus and earlier editions, Lambinus and Charles Estienne share an 81% agreement, followed closely by Manutius with 78% and Robert Estienne with 77%.

As already stated, the posthumous editions of Lambinus are very different: the text conforms to a mid-16th century vulgate and Lambinus' emendations appear either as marginal variants or in the *annotatiunculae* at the end of each volume. These *annotatiunculae*, which numbered twenty-one in the 1565 edition and had grown to forty-six in the 1573 and later editions, were mainly concerned with textual readings and were the work of Lambinus himself. The first such note in the 1573 edition revealed the identity of a known manuscript which Lambinus had the use of:

> *Post primam editionem nostram, praeter codices eos, quibus tum usi sumus, Memmianos, cum alios praeterea nacti sumus, tum unum sane quam fidum atque integrum: quem nobis utendum dedit Claud. Puteanus.*

This new manuscript must be P, which entered the royal library in the 17th century from the collection of Pierre and Jacques Dupuy, sons of Claude; for the reading *ut omnis <opera in scribendis illis> susciperetur frustra* at 2,5 (3.6) is found in the margin of the 1573 and later editions, and in P, Pal.1 and Amst.

Elsewhere, in the *annotatiunculae* of the 1573 and later editions, reference is made to *libri et manuscr. et vulg.*, which appears to mean 'manuscripts and printed editions', but it is unclear whether the phrase *libri veteres*, specifically *duo libri veteres* on one occasion, means manuscripts or earlier printed editions: I suspect the latter. Otherwise the only explicit reference is to the reading *plurimum quidem <et>* of Turnebus at 3,9 (4.26). But the vulgate text used towards the posthumous editions is certainly not Turnebus': the general impression of the text is of a member of the Aldine tradition, after the 1541 edition of Paulus Manutius, but not one of his later editions. The closest fit is the 1555 edition of Charles Estienne, although several readings in Lambinus are not found in Estienne.

Several new readings appear in the 1573 edition for the first time: *ea quae* for *ea qua* or *ex qua* at 6,24 (11.1), *indefinite* for *infinite* at 7,27 (12.22), *et*^{1} omitted at 9,34 (15.7), and *profectas* for *perfectas* at 10,38 (16.7). In addition, marginal notes supply new readings, as follows: *efficientes* for *efficientium* at 2,6 (3.9), *queat* for *quoniam* or *quam* at 2,6 (3.14), *omnes in conspectu consedimus* for *in conspectu consedimus omnes* at 4,14 (6.30–1), *verum <aut>* at 5,19 (8.27), and *virtus <et>* at 5,20 (9.22); and the scholia provide the following suggestions: *Atticus <autem>* at 1,2 (1.14), and *didicisti autem eadem ipse. Vides autem* for *vides autem eadem ipse. Didicisti enim* at 2,5 (2.28–9). None of these readings has found favour among succeeding editors, but the suggestion that *relictam a te veterem iam* at 4,13 (6.9) refers to *Academiam* antedates Bentley's emendation by more than a century, and has been accepted by all editors since it was first included in the text by L'Honoré.

The 1584 edition, published separately at Paris and Geneva and reprinted only once, by Antonius Gryphius at Lyon in the following year, saw a few minor changes to the text, such as the reversion to *infinite* at 7,27 (12.22), *esse* for *esset* at 12,45 (19.18), and the omission of *quasi* and *quandam* at 6,24 (11.8), as in the first edition

of Lambinus and the Aldine tradition generally, with their addition in the margin. But the main interest in this edition lies in the inclusion of notes by Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600), which relate to seventeen passages in the *Academicus Primus*.[45] Orsini claimed to have used a manuscript, but most of the readings which he attributed to it do not appear in any extant witness. Readings which he attributed to a manuscript are the omissions of *atomos* at 2,6 (3.10), *ab* at 4,15 (7.3), *quasi* at 6,24 (11.8), and *quoque* at 7,26 (12.3), and *quam* for *qui* at 12,43 (18.22). In all these readings Orsini used a phrase such as *in manuscripto* or *auctoribus antiquis codicibus*; but elsewhere he used expressions such as *vetus liber* and *liber antiquus* as if to distinguish between manuscripts and printed editions. And yet none of the readings which fall into the latter category is found in earlier printed editions, but some are found in manuscripts and some are not attested before this edition of Lambinus. On the other hand, the omission of *quasi* at 6,24 (11.8), which is attributed to a manuscript source, occurs only in the Aldine tradition of printed editions. The conclusion to be drawn is that the terms were used as indiscriminately by Orsini as they had been by Lambinus himself.

The first edition of Lambinus' text with the notes of Denis Godefroy (1549–1622) was published at Lyon in 1588; thereafter the edition was reprinted at least seventeen times until 1660, always at Lyon or Geneva.[46] It is clear that Godefroy did not use any manuscripts, but merely continued the vulgate text of the 1573 edition, adding readings from Lambinus' 1565 edition and the notes of Orsini in the margin of the 1596 edition, at least, and making a few emendations of his own. The only emendation of his which has stood the test of time is *mutari* for *mutare* at 7,27 (12.17).

Thus the text of Lambinus, in one form or another, lasted for nearly a century as the standard text of the *Academicus Primus*; but

[45] First published by Christopher Plantin in *In omnia opera Ciceronis notae*, Antwerp, 1581. Those notes which relate to *Ac1* are on pages 18–20. They were repeated verbatim in the Lambinus edition.

[46] That some editions which bear the place of publication as Lyon on the title page were not published there but at Geneva has been documented by A. Dufour in P. Chaix, A. Dufour and G. Moeckli, 'Les livres imprimés à Genève de 1550 à 1600', *Genava* nouv. sér. tome 7 (1959), 365 ff. This was due to the desire of Calvinist publishers to overcome the hostility felt in catholic parts of Europe, and Dufour singles out Guillaume Lemaire and François le Preux, both publishers and printers of the Lambinus and Godefroy edition, as exponents of this practice. Thus 'doublets' will be found in Appendix B of editions by these publishers in 1594, 1596 and 1616.

for most of this time it was a bowdlerised version, which lacked the dramatic originality of the only edition of his published during his lifetime. Lambinus provides one of the two points at which the text of the *Academicus Primus* changed most; but the change was due entirely to emendation, whereas on the other occasion recension played the major part. Very few of Lambinus' emendations merit inclusion in a critical apparatus now, but his impact on the text at the time was revolutionary.

f. *Gruter*

The basis for the Hamburg edition of 1618 was provided by the industry of Gulielmus (Jan Wilhelms: 1555–84), who collated a large number of manuscripts in France and Germany towards an edition of the complete works of Cicero, to be based solely on manuscript readings without any editors' conjectures.[47] Gulielmus wrote readings from manuscripts which he had collated in the margin of a copy of the 1577 edition of Lambinus.[48] The only manuscript source consulted by Gulielmus towards the text of the *Academicus Primus* and mentioned in Gruter's notes is 'T'; but the readings attributed to it by Gruter do not enable us to identify it with any certainty: *Philonem* with P^m, Pal.1^m, Vict and some *deteriores* at 4,13 (6.20), *omnibus* with P at 4,15 (7.3), *erit* with Γ and P at 7,26 (11.31), *introque* with P at 7,28 (12.24), and *pleros* with P and most of the *deteriores* at 12,45 (19.21). The overall picture suggests a member of the P tradition, and the only such manuscripts known to be in France and Germany at this time were P, Vict, Pal.1 and Pal.2.[49]

Jan Gruter (1560–1627) acquired Gulielmus' collations in 1614 and added readings from manuscripts in the Palatine library at Heidelberg, where he had been librarian since 1602, as well as conjectures by other editors.[50] Gruter's notes specifically name two

[47] For the intended title of Gulielmus' edition, see Schmidt, 220–1. For a description of Gulielmus' life and work, see J.H. van Seelen, *Miscellanea*, Lübeck, 1734, I 167–233 *De Iani Gulielmi Lubecensis, philologi et poetae celeberrimi, eximiis in litteras humaniores meritis disputatio*.

[48] Gulielmus' collations and notes were tracked down by Schmidt, 219, in Leiden, Univ. Bibl., 762.B.9/10 (Gron. 12).

[49] Gulielmus' T is mentioned by Gruter for *Ac1* and *Luc* only; besides T, the only other mss. used for *Luc* appear to have been two Palatini, and a S. Victor ms. (presumably Paris, Bibl. Nat., lat. 7784). Gulielmus is known from a contemporary document to have studied mss. of Claude Dupuy and Henri de Mesmes.

[50] As described in a note on the title page of Gulielmus' exemplar, reported by

Palatine manuscripts—*Palatinus primus* (= Pal.2) and *Palatinus quartus* (= Pal.1)—as well as Gulielmus' T and the editions of Naugerius, Victorius, Brutus, Paulus Manutius, Turnebus, Lambinus and Aldus Manutius nepos.[51] There are twelve references to readings shared by both Palatine manuscripts, six to Pal.1 and three to Pal.2, as well as the vague reference to *Palatinus* of a reading found in both Pal.1 and Pal.2, and one reference to the *codex Memmianus*.

That Gruter improved the quality of the text from a manuscript source is beyond doubt: his text was the first to present the readings *Philonis* at 4,13 (6.20), *magnorum* at 6,23 (10.22), and *erit* at 7,26 (11.31), which are all typical of the tradition of Γ and P; and he recorded some readings in his modest apparatus which would eventually prove to be well-founded, such as *cum* before *contineantur* at 2,6 (3.12); he restored *hic* ... *disserebat* at 10,38 (16.10), which had become firmly established in printed editions since Manutius, but had been omitted from the posthumous editions of Lambinus, and removed over thirty errors which had been introduced into the vulgate text, principally by Naugerius and Paulus Manutius. He also introduced several emendations of his own, such as *plurimumque idem* for *plurimum quidem* at 3,9 (4.26) and *reperirentur* for *reperiuntur* at 11,42 (18.9), which are both included in the apparatus of Plasberg's smaller edition. The net effect of Gruter's edition was to break the Aldine tradition and restore the text to the level of an unmarked *deterior* with an awareness of some readings which which would prove to be based on an earlier tradition.[52] The other, more lasting impact which Gruter had was to provide the chapter divisions which have survived as a means of reference down to the present day.

With the exception of the remaining reprints of the edition of Lambinus and Godefroy and the editions which continued the tradition of Paulus Manutius, Gruter's became the vulgate text until

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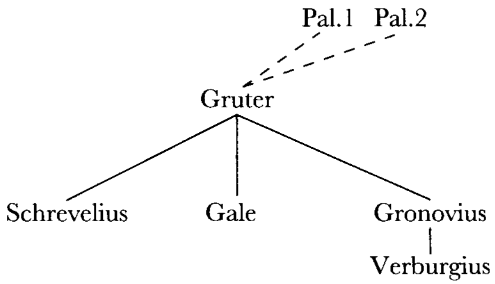
Schmidt, 212 n. 19: *Hic Cicero est ille tot per annos fama iactatus in Gallia, in Germania, quem Janus Gulielmus moriens reliquit: cui Janus Gruterus plura adhuc adjecit ex Mss. Pal. et ex Criticis.*

[51] Surprisingly, there is no mention of Amst, which belonged to Gruter himself. But Gruter does mention the readings *assensione* and *assensionem* at 12,45 (19.15 and 19.19) in an edition of Henri Estienne, which is otherwise unknown.

[52] Gruter has been the object of severe criticism: Dibdin, 400, remarked that his edition 'unites many errors and absurdities; adopting the palpable incorrectness of MSS. in lieu of the emendations of learned men, who had restored the text of Cicero in a manner unexceptionable to every other critic but to the blind obstinacy of Gruter'—but, then, Dibdin spoke before the awareness of the Γ tradition of *Ac1*; and Orelli, 207, referred to Gruter as a *vir iudicio prorsus destitutus*.

Davies in 1725. The editions of Schrevelius, Gale and Jakob Gronovius were all based on Gruter; the edition which bears Gronovius' name shares with Schrevelius the correction of errors in Gruter, but there seems little need to posit Gronovius' use of Schrevelius as he received from his father Johannes Fredericus the annotated edition of Lambinus which Gruter had used as the base for his own text.[53] Gronovius was the first editor to employ both the chapter numbering of Gruter and the paragraph numbering of Scot,[54] and his edition was faithfully followed by Verburgius.[55] The tradition around Gruter is as follows:



g. *Davies*

After Gruter, John Davies (1679–1732) was the next editor to consult manuscripts of the philosophical works of Cicero.[56] In his first edition of 1725 he revealed the use of three manuscripts towards the *Academicus Primus*:

[53] Madvig, xii, states that Gronovius used two mss. towards *Fin*: one of his own, and one of his father's. But no extant ms. of *Ac1* is known to have belonged to Gronovius, and his edition shows no sign of the use of a ms.

[54] On his title page, Gronovius mentioned the use of Gruter and Nizolius only: *Apposita in margine ad utentis commodum numeris, non tantum Gruterianis, sed etiam apparatui Latinae locutionis Nizoliano respondentibus*. But the latter is a clear reference to Scot's *Apparatus Latinae Locutionis* of 1588, which was a revision of Nizolius' *Observationes in Ciceronem* of 1535.

[55] Once again, the numbering of Gruter and Scot, as well as the Aldine edition, is followed and, for the first time, acknowledged: *Isaacus Verburgius collegit, disposuit, recensuit, variantes lectiones ubique apposuit, paginas Aldinae editionis, quas Nizolius et alii sunt secuti, una cum Alexandri Scot sectionibus, apparatui Latinae locutionis respondentibus, ad utentis commodum* [cf. Gronovius] *ubique diligenter notavit.*

[56] The *DNB* V (1921–2), 596, records that Davies 'projected new and beautiful editions of Cicero's philosophical treatises, by way of supplement to the works of that author edited by Graevius'.

1. Paris, Bibl. Luparensis;
2. Oxford, Balliol College;
3. Ely, a collation of a ms. in the 1538 edition of Robert Estienne.

He also mentioned by name the editions of Victorius, Paulus Manutius, Turnebus, and Lambinus and Orsini, the annotations of Camerarius, and the notes of Franciscus Guyetus in the Gruter edition at the Jesuit College at Paris, recorded by John Walker.

While Davies was the first editor to collate Ball, and the manuscript in the Biblioteca Luparensis (the Louvre) must have been P,[57] the *codex Eliensis* has been the subject of a certain amount of discussion.[58] Davies appears to have used three *codices Elienses*—one a real manuscript containing only the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, and the other two 'sets of various readings professing . . . to be drawn from two MSS'. Of these only one contained the *Academicus Primus*, but Reid states that 'a careful examination of the quotations made by Davies shows these collations to have been very imperfect'—such a conclusion can only have been based on the evidence of Ball. Reid points out that Davies often referred to the *codices Elienses* on trivial matters, but never when dealing with difficult passages; of the ten readings where the *codex Eliensis* is quoted for the *Academicus Primus*, only two provide unique readings and Reid dismisses them both as conjectures; but one of them is found in extant manuscripts.[59]

Davies was responsible for several innovations, but they have generally been superseded by readings from the Γ tradition; the only ones which Plasberg allowed into his text are *accipient* for *accipiunt* at 2,5 (3.6), *tantum* for *tam* at 4,16 (7.19), and *et iam ante* at 12,44 (19.2), and those which he accepted in his apparatus are *se visentium* for *satis eum/enim* at 1,1 (1.10), *negat* for *negaret* at 4,13 (6.16), *prima natura* for *prima in natura* at 6,22 (10.10), the deletion of *in* at 7,28 (12.26), *et rerum notis quasi ducibus* for *et quasi rerum notis ducibus* at 8,32 (14.7–8), *eum* for *et* at 10,38 (16.14), *hoc* for *haec* at 11,41 (17.16), and *aperirentur* for *reperiuntur* at 11,42 (18.9). Walker contributed *partis* for *artis* at 6,23 (10.28). Davies was also the first editor to include et^1 in the text at 7,26 (12.4).

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57 Readings from the Paris ms. which support this identification include several agreements with P against Γ, and P against the *deteriores*.

58 Reid, 69–70; Mayor, I lxvii–lxx.

59 *Non auditis* for *inauditis* at 6,24 (11.11) is found in C, Ricc.1, the *editio princeps* and its apographs.

The main interest in Davies' edition lies in his emendations and those of Richard Bentley, which were published in a reprint after Davies' death in 1736,[60] and in the fact that Davies was the only editor between 1618 and 1810 to consult manuscripts. While Olivetus and Lallemand both admitted a use of Davies, only Durand and Rath claimed him as their base.

h. *Ernesti and Olivetus*

Between them, the editions of Johann August Ernesti (1707–81) and Olivetus (Pierre Josèph de Thoulié: 1682–1768) provided the vulgate text which lasted well into the 19th century. Editions of Ernesti's text spanned the period from 1737 until 1830, while Olivetus' edition proved particularly popular up to the last years of the 18th century. Neither of them, however, consulted any manuscripts towards their editions.

Ernesti's first edition was based on the text of Gronovius, itself a descendant of Gruter, with an awareness of Verburgius and Davies. In his later editions, however, new readings were introduced from various sources, including Paulus Manutius, Davies and possibly even the *editio princeps*. Certainly Ernesti had a wide knowledge of the editions of Cicero, for he discussed them in his *Clavis Ciceroniana*, which formed a whole volume of the 1774 edition; he had also edited Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Latina* the previous year and in 1756 had produced *Historia critica operum Ciceronis typographorum formulis editorum*;[61] thus he knew of most previous editions, even if he had not studied the text which they offered. In addition to producing five editions during his lifetime, Ernesti was published a further eleven times at least after his death and was followed by the Bipontine edition (with a list of editions), the Oxford edition of 1783,[62] the Mannheim edition of 1786, and the editions of Levée, Le Clerc and Nobbe, and was shared with Olivetus by Carey, and with Goerenz by Amar.

Olivetus based his text, in descending order of faithfulness, on

[60] In the notes Bentley, who was Davies' literary executor, is referred to as *Amicus*; Rath first published his identity, although Durand's notes in the British Library copy of the 1736 edition reveal Bentley as the *Amicus*.

[61] He had also studied the editions of Cicero's speeches in *De editionibus orationum Ciceronis*, Leipzig, 1759.

[62] The variant readings of three Oxford manuscripts (Ball, Bodl.1 and Linc) were added in an appendix, but the text remained that of Ernesti.

Victorius, Paulus Manutius, Lambinus and Gruter, as he himself stated in his preface, with the additional interpretation of many editors, including Turnebus and Davies. His published method of working was to follow the vulgate and only choose between editions where their readings differed. His text was reproduced by Facciolati, and provided the base for Lallemand; Carey, as late as 1820, vacillated between Olivetus and Ernesti.

The texts which Ernesti and Olivetus produced are eminently readable and were well received at the time; they were based solely on printed editions, with some conjecture on the part of Ernesti, and deserve individual treatment because they shaped the vulgate text for a century. I suspect that Olivetus' reputation, however, was based more on the handsome format of his edition than on its intrinsic worth as a text.

i. *Goerenz*

A treatment of important editions of the *Academicus Primus* would not be complete without mention of Johann August Goerenz (1767–1836), whose edition passed through the spectrum from being praised by Orelli, and being followed by him and Schütz, and partly by Amar, to being whole-heartedly condemned by Madvig for every kind of inaccuracy and deceit which an editor could perpetrate.[63] Whatever else may be said of Goerenz, he seems to have stirred up passions which had been dormant in the area of Cicero's philosophical works for a long time.

Goerenz used four manuscripts, which had not been previously collated towards the *Academicus Primus*:

1. *Fragmentum codicis*[64]
2. *Dresdensis 50* (= Dresd.1)
3. *Uffenbachianus* (= Wash)
4. *Basileensis*

[63] Reid, 71, called Goerenz 'the drunken Helot of Latin scholarship'.

[64] This fragment has not been identified among extant manuscripts. Goerenz, v–vi, describes it thus: *Fragmentum codicis, quod sic appellavimus, cum hic liber ab initio et a fine mutilus esset (incipit enim ¶ 7 libri I et deficit libro II* [i.e. *Luc*] *¶ 131) neque ulla nota distingueretur. Allatum ad nos est ex Italia, forma quadrata, scriptura Romana, literis minutis, lineis stilo ductis, verbis haud raro male vel nexis, vel distractis, pergamena male rasa: omnibusque reliquis signis seculum XII prae se ferens. . . .*

He also used the editions of de Pensis, Ascensius, Bentinus, Lambinus, de Allio, Huber and Alter and the Oxford edition of 1783. His was the first edition to omit *omnibus* at 4,16 (7.20) and *nunc* at 12,43 (18.23), and to read *primum* for *primam* at 5,19 (9.1) and *horum* for *verum* at 12,43 (18.18). All of these readings have become regular features of subsequent editions; while *horum* appears to have been a conjecture of Goerenz, the other readings are all found in the Γ tradition. Yet none of Goerenz' admitted manuscript sources belongs to that tradition, with the possible exception of the unidentified fragment.

Not all Goerenz' innovations were treated so well. Those which failed to gain acceptance included the deletion of *sed ea . . . cogitavi* at 2,4 (2.19–20), of *essent* at 4,14 (6.30), giving the unlikely hexameter *Quae cum dicta in conspectu consedimus omnes*, which was nevertheless followed by Schütz, Orelli, Nobbe and even Halm, of *eaque ab his* at 5,20 (9.14), and of *censebat* at 12,45 (19.12), and the readings *nam* for *iam* at 5,21 (9.26), and *opinabilium* for *opinabilem* at 8,31 (14.1).

However justified Madvig may have been in his criticism of Goerenz' methods, the presence of so many new readings, some of them well founded, means that Goerenz cannot be simply ignored as can many before him and since.

j. *Halm*

Of all the editions which include the *Academicus Primus*, that of Karl Felix Halm (1809–82) in 1862 was the first to use a descendant of Γ for certain, and represented the biggest change to the text since the Aldine edition nearly three and a half centuries earlier. Halm used Orelli's text as a base, but improved on it greatly through the application of four manuscripts, which were collated by colleagues and acquaintances: Ged (by Ludwig Botzon), P (J.K. Hunziker), Wash (Henry Allen), and Vict (Eduard Woelfflin). He also used the *editio princeps*, and collations of the Ely manuscript in Davies, of Bas in Goerenz, and of Ball, Bodl.1, and Linc in the Oxford edition of 1783.

Halm obviously set greatest store by Ged (he believed all four manuscripts to be 15th century) and followed it against the received tradition in the following readings, which present the Γ tradition (or at least part of it) for the first time: *ab* in the text at 1,1 (1.8), *magnum opus* at 1,2 (1.21), *enim* at 1,2 (2.1), *hoc genus* at 1,3 (2.14), *simpliciter pecudis enim* at 2,6 (3.17), *illud igitur* at 2,7 (3.28), *nescient* and

eam mihi non at 3,10 (5.4), *copioseque* at 4,16 (7.11), *dubitantem* at 4,17 (8.6), *me* in the text at 5,18 (8.23), *in*$^{1\&2}$ in the text at 5,21 (9.26), *et* in the text at 5,21 (9.27), *praescriptione* at 6,23 (10.24), *nobis magis* at 7,25 (11.25), *hoc* in the text at 7,26 (12.3), *unum* in the text at 7,28 (12.27), *appellant* at 8,30 (13.20–1), *ullas* at 8,31 (13.24), *ut ita essent* at 8,31 (13.24–5), *quibusdam* in the text at 8,32 (14.7), *forma* in the text at 8,33 (14.14), *probitatem quandam prae se* at 9,33 (14.25), *matrem esse arbitrabatur* at 10,39 (16.23), *etiam* at 11,40 (17.4), *alio* in the text at 11,41 (17.17), *novam aliquam* at 12,43 (18.20–1), *disserens de sua* at 12,45 (19.21), and *et to* in the text at 12,46 (20.9). The only conjecture by Halm to have satisfied Plasberg is the addition of <*et*> at 8,31 (13.27); Halm first included in the text Durand's suggestion that *exposui* should read *exposuisti* at 12,46 (20.2).

Halm collaborated with Johann Georg Baiter (1801–73) in the edition of Cicero's complete works, and a year later Baiter produced his own text of the *Academicus Primus* in an edition where he collaborated with C.L. Kayser. Not surprisingly, Baiter based his text on that of Halm, adding a further reading which is found in the Γ tradition and which had only been included in Halm's apparatus—*enim* at 5,21 (9.28). In addition, three conjectures merit mention: *Philonia* for *Philonis* at 4,13 (6.20), *dubitanter* for *dubitantem* at 4,17 (8.6), and *dissupationes* for *disputationes* at 8,33 (14.15).

Reid used Halm for Ged, P and Vict, and the Oxford edition for Linc, although he expressed a lack of trust in it on the evidence of his own collation of Ball and Bodl.1. He collated Burn, Harl.1, Harl.2, Harl.3, Vanc and Wash himself. Not surprisingly, although he claimed that his text was considerably nearer the manuscripts than that of Halm,[65] the manuscripts which he collated did not give any new readings, and the only innovations to the text came from his own emendations, such as <*tum*> *Atticus* at 1,2 (1.14), *philosophis* at 2,8 (4.16), and <*ea*> *Philonis* at 4,13 (6.20). In textual matters, however, Reid showed less critical ability than in philosophical exegesis, and several of his conclusions have not stood the test of more recent analysis.[66]

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[65] In his edition of 1874, p. viii.

[66] Such as: his belief that Ged is 'largely interpolated and corrected by its copyist'; his confidence that 'all existing MSS of *Academica I* are ultimately derived from a single archetype' which was 'not very much older than its descendants, and was probably Italian by origin'; and his list of passages where 'all known MSS agree'

Baiter was followed by C.F.W. Müller, who, by his own admission, placed greater emphasis on Ged than Halm or Baiter. Thus it was Müller who first presented the following readings of Γ (all transpositions) in the text, although Halm had recorded them all in his apparatus: *assiduitate exercitationis* at 5,20 (9.18–19), *ipsa philosophia* at 5,20 (9.19–20), and *materiae pars* at 7,28 (12.28). Müller also followed Ged against the tradition of Γ in reading *appellantur* for *appellarentur* at 6,22 (10.8) and *appellant* for *vocant* at 7,25 (11.18). Lastly, Müller referred in his *Adnotatio Critica* to a *Codex Erl.*, which presented the reading *ars* for *res* at 1,3 (2.15); but this reading is found only in Bodl.1 among extant manuscripts and in the text of Rath's edition of 1806, and no manuscript of the *Academicus Primus* is to be found at Erlangen.[67]

k. *Plasberg*

While the tendency of editions of the second half of the 19th century had been to present a text which was influenced to some extent by Ged, a member of the Γ tradition, against the earlier tradition of P, or at least its descendants, the *deteriores*, a balance was first achieved by Otto Plasberg (1869–1924) through a wide knowledge of the manuscripts. It is not clear, however, how many manuscripts Plasberg collated: the only manuscripts which he admitted explicitly that he had collated were Mu and N_2. He used several collations made by other scholars: A. Elter for Leid, with corrections by P.C. Molhuijsen; H. Deiter for Amst, with clarifications by C.P. Burger; Schiche for N_1; Oscar Leuze for Ma and Scor.2. He appears to have used the editions of Halm and Reid for Wash, Vanc, Harl.1, Harl.2, Harl.3, Burn, Bodl.1, Ball, and Linc. However, the accuracy with which he distributed 41 *deteriores* into the stirpes α β δ ε ζ η θ κ and a classification of *incerti* suggests that Plasberg was aware of the texts which they presented through collation either by himself or by someone else; that he himself made some at least of these collations would seem to be borne out by our knowledge that he made trips to Italy in 1900 and England in 1903 specifically to collate manuscripts of

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includes some which neither Ged nor P reads. Reid obviously based this last conclusion on the mss. which he had collated himself, which were all *deteriores*.

[67] If that is what Erl stands for: Cicero's philosophical works, including *Fin* and *Luc*, but not *Ac1*, in adjacent positions, are found in Erlangen, Univ. Bibl. 618 (847).

Cicero.[68] In addition to a potentially large number of manuscripts, Plasberg appears to have made use of an extensive number of printed editions: his apparatus reveals the names of Ascensius, Aldus Manutius, Camerarius, Victorius, Paulus Manutius, Turnebus, Lambinus, Aldus Manutius nepos, Gruter, Davies, Ernesti, Durand, Goerenz, Klotz, Halm, Baiter, Müller, and Reid.

Plasberg's more rounded acquaintance with Γ enabled him to introduce several readings which had been missed by Halm and which thus appeared for the first time after more than four centuries of printed editions: *enim* for *eum* at 1,1 (1.10), *autem Varro* for *autem* P and *Varro* Γ at 3,11 (5.15), *animo* in the text at 3,11 (5.18), *de*^{1} in the text at 4,15 (7.6), *quia* for *qui* at 4,17 (8.1), *tantummodo* in the text at 6,24 (11.3), *quidem* in the text at 8,33 (14.18), *quasi* in the text at 10,38 (16.7), *teramus* for *teneamus* at 11,40 (17.8), *quidem mihi* for *mihi quidem* at 12,44 (18.29), and *ut . . . sciret* in the text at 12,45 (19.11). Conjectural emendations which Plasberg introduced into his text were: *philosophiae <more>* at 2,8 (4.16–17), *in conservatione <sui et in appetitione>* at 6,23 (10.19), *conservata* for *et servata* at 10,37 (16.4), and *existebat* for *existeret* at 11,41 (17.26).

Plasberg's text set the standard for the 20th century: he was the last editor to collate a manuscript, and his text was simply reprinted by most subsequent editors except Rackham and Appuhn, who selected readings from Plasberg and earlier editors without regard for stemmatic evidence, and Broemser, Stein and Gigon, who venture several additions to the text without any concern for the evidence of manuscripts.

The Format

The format of printed editions of the *Academicus Primus* passed quickly through the spectrum from *editio princeps* to modern edition in all respects except the provision of reference points. The *editio princeps* has the appearance of a manuscript: ligatures and abbreviations are employed extensively, and a space is left for the insertion of decorated initials; publication details are conveyed in the form of colophons. But there is no title page, no table of contents, no foliation

[68] Helm, 127. I have seen in several libraries evidence that Plasberg personally handled mss. of *Ac1*.

or pagination, and the title of each work appears only as a single line at the beginning of the work, without running headings. The text is not divided into any sections which may be referenced.

By the early 16th century, however, most of the visual aspects of the modern edition had been introduced. The first table of contents appeared in Bivilaqua's edition, although without folio references; on the other hand, at least running headings (often incorrect) had already been provided by de Pensis as an aid to locating where the reader found himself. Thereafter the table of contents became a fixed feature of printed editions, with folio references first provided by Minutianus. Folio numbering was also introduced by Minutianus, and pagination by Herwagen, both using arabic numerals; the only editions to use Roman numerals for folios which contained the text were those of Ascensius. The earliest title-page is found in the first Ascensian edition of 1511, where the monogram of Jehan Petit, the printer, appears. The familiar device of Ascensius (a printing press bearing the inscription *Prelum Ascensianum*) did not appear until 1527.

The earliest attempts at introducing the means of specific reference consisted of the division of printed pages into regularly-sized sections, which were marked in the margin: thus Bentinus divided even-numbered pages into two halves, A–B, and odd-numbered pages likewise, C–D. He was followed by Ascensius (1531) and Herwagen, who divided facing pages A–E and F–K, and by Lambinus and Godefroy, in whose editions each column was divided into regular portions (A–H). In the 1538 edition of Victorius, published by Robert Estienne, each page is divided regularly into five numbered sections, but these divisions are mechanical and refer only to this edition. Similarly, the text of Charles Estienne's edition of 1555 is divided into thirty-three sections, each division containing eleven lines and occurring regardless of the punctuation of the text. Obviously, the limitation of such a system was that it was suitable only for the pagination of a particular edition.[69] The first attempt to introduce a system which would not be tied to a particular edition was made in the 1594 edition of Lambinus and Godefroy, when the text was divided into 31 sections, each new section starting where a different interlocutor began to speak; however, this resulted in sections of very uneven lengths, ranging from one line to two and a half pages of

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[69] But this did not prove to be an insurmountable problem with the Stephanus folio Plato of 1578, as Kenney, 152, pointed out.

Plasberg's text in the worst case.[70] The first occurrence of a division into forty-six paragraphs, as now, is found in the 1606 edition of Alexander Scot.[71] The further division into twelve chapters was achieved by Gruter, who also numbered the lines of each page in increments of five.[72] The first editor to combine both chapter and paragraph numbers was Gronovius.

Although it is Gruter's division into twelve chapters which has become the standard, it should be noted that Davies divided the text into thirteen chapters: the divisions followed Gruter down to chapter 5, which started at 5,18 (8.19), chapter 7 at 6,24 (10.30), chapter 8 at 7,26 (11.29), and all subsequent chapters one higher than in Gruter. Durand, Castillon and Rath all followed Davies in this, and Durand went so far as to number his paragraphs from 1 to 54, starting with the prefatory letter to Varro (*Fam* IX 13); Durand continued this numbering through the *Lucullus* as well, from 54 to 225.

Finally, the order of philosophical works, at least, in the Ciceronian canon was established in the 1528 edition of Bentinus.[73]

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[70] Divisions of Lambinus and Godefroy equate to Plasberg as follows:

Section	Plasberg	Section	Plasberg	Section	Plasberg
1	1,1 (1.1)	11	4,14 (6.21)	21	7,26 (11.26)
2	1,2 (1.19)	12	(6.24)	22	(11.29)
3	1,3 (2.4)	13	(6.27)	23	8,33 (14.16)
4	2,4 (2.17)	14	(6.30)	24	(14.18)
5	3,9 (4.18)	15	4,15 (7.1)	25	9,35 (15.15)
6	4,13 (6.6)	16	5,18 (8.19)	26	10,35 (15.17)
7	(6.8)	17	5,18 (8.22)	27	11,41 (17.16)
8	(6.9)	18	5,19 (8.24)	28	(17.18)
9	(6.11)	19	7,25 (11.11)	29	12,43 (18.16)
10	(6.19)	20	(11.13)	30	(18.22)
				31	12,44 (18.27)

This edition thus antedates that of 1616, which Glucker, *Chapter* 109, claimed to be the earliest to be divided into sections; the 1616 edition of Lambinus and Godefroy may well have been the first to follow Scot's divisions—I have not seen a copy.

[71] This number of paragraphs may also have been found in the 1588 edition of Scot, which I have been unable to consult. That the paragraphs originated with Scot was first identified by Verburgius.

[72] Interestingly, after having used the division of Gruter into twelve chapters in his 1661 edition, Schrevelius reverted to the division into thirty-one chapters of Lambinus and Godefroy in his 1687 edition, only letters were used in place of numbers (a–i, k–u, x–z, aa–hh).

[73] As observed by Ernesti, IV Part 1 v–vii. The sequence is: *Ac1, Luc, Fin, Tusc, Nat, Div, Fat, Somn, Leg, Off, Sen, Am, Parad, Tim, Pet.*

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

When did the Academici Libri *become fragmentary?*

Now that we have seen such evidence as is provided by testimonia and the manuscripts, we are in a position to form some opinions on the fate of the *Academici Libri.* The two books of the first edition appear to have no common tradition. The *Catulus* is never cited, and it seems most likely that Cicero was successful in suppressing it, possibly because of its treatment of Philo; the *Lucullus*, on the other hand, may well have been published after Cicero's death. Yet it is never cited for certain by authors in Antiquity, although it has come down to us through a common tradition with several other philosophical works of Cicero, possibly as a result of the formation of an edition in Late Antiquity.

The four books of the second edition are those which were approved by Cicero for publication. All references to the work in Antiquity are to this edition, although unacknowledged quotations and paraphrases which may have been to the *Lucullus* are indistinguishable from the last two books of the second edition; in no case is the name of an interlocutor from the first edition given. All four books of the second edition survived at least into the 5th century, but the earliest manuscript references, in the 12th century, are to the *Academicus Primus* only. Yet a 14th-century reference, by Robert Holcot, mentions the fourth book of the *Academici Libri*; either this reference is false (the text does not look Ciceronian) or it comes from an unrelated tradition of an excerpt from the *Academici Libri*, which was made when they were whole.

It seems certain that what remains of the *Academicus Primus* has been transmitted through a sole copy; the ending of the work at the obviously incomplete *et to* on one side of the manuscript tradition can only have come from an archetype. If my theory that *et to* formed a catchword in the archetype is correct, then the archetype probably contained a larger part of the *Academici Libri* than we possess now, possibly even the whole work. As the archetype seems to have been written in a gothic script and was stemmatically close to the

extant members of the two families which now provide the text, we may suspect that the whole work survived into the early 12th century; it would have been at this time that Holcot's excerpt was made, as it is typical of the practice at this time of collecting *exempla* for the production of encyclopaedias of knowledge. If my theory is correct, then the complete *Academici Libri* fall into that very small category of classical works which were lost after the Carolingian renaissance.[1] If my theory is incorrect, then the very least that we may deduce is that the *Academici Libri* became fragmentary sometime between the first half of the 5th and the middle of the 12th centuries.

Why did the *Academici Libri* become fragmentary? Douglas' suggestion[2] that it is more than mere coincidence that both the *De Fato* and the *Academici Libri* lack a large part of the Sceptics' case is opposed by the fact that the two works have come down to us through entirely unrelated traditions; there can have been little possibility of both works being tampered with from the same source. I believe that it is much more likely that the major part of the *Academici Libri* was lost by chance, as were parts of the *De Fato* and *Timaeus*.

It is a remarkable coincidence that the *Academicus Primus* and *Lucullus* jointly form nearly a suppletive whole, lacking only the end of the first book (of four) and the whole of the second book. But there can be no possibility that they survived because of this; it was not until the 15th century that the two texts found themselves again in the same manuscript book. Both texts assumed a different identity in the later Middle Ages, the *Lucullus* being called the *Hortensius*, and the *Academicus Primus* becoming attached to the *De Finibus* as a sixth book. This happened after the time of Augustine, and probably as late as the 12th century.

The Re-emergence of the Academicus Primus

The *Academicus Primus* was rediscovered later than any other of Cicero's philosophical works except the *De republica*. The first surviving reference to it occurred at Bec in the mid-12th century, and the earliest surviving copies of the work date from the latter part of that century. Moreover, the number of extant copies is less than for any

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[1] Listed by Reynolds, *Texts* xxviii.
[2] Douglas, 150.

other philosophical works except the *De Republica* again; at the other end of the scale are the *De Senectute* with around 400 copies, mainly from the 15th century, and the *Somnium Scipionis*, with or without the commentary of Macrobius, in over 500 copies. Detailed comparison with other works for which lists are to hand provides the following figures:[3]

Century	*Leg*	*Nat*	*Div*	*Fin*	*Ac1*
9th	3	1	2		
10th		4	5		
11th	2	3	1	1	
12th	1	6	3	3	2
13th	1	7	4	2	
14th	6	19	18	19	3
15th	84	70	60	123	65
16th		2			
17th		1			
Undated		9			
Lost	8	6	3	27	9
Totals	105	128	96	175	79

As far as the *Academicus Primus* is concerned, these figures bear out only partially the observation that most texts reached peaks in the 12th and 15th centuries.[4] While the 12th century certainly saw a greater growth than the 13th, the explosion of copies in the 15th century was more marked than for the other works analysed.

There seems little doubt that the *Academicus Primus* owes its survival to a library in northern France: all the earliest references to it and the oldest manuscripts come from there. Copies seem to have been produced in Cistercian monastic circles (P, Amst), and to have been owned by individual churchmen, such as Philippe de Harcourt, Richard de Fournival, and Gérard d'Abbeville, from whom they passed to libraries, such as the Benedictine monastery at Bec and the Sorbonne. Curiously Corbie, where so many philosophical works of Cicero were preserved, plays no part.

[3] Figures for *Leg* are taken from Schmidt, for *Nat* and *Div* from Pease, and for *Fin* and *Ac1* from my own compilations. Where mss. have been attributed vaguely to a range of centuries, I have placed them in the last century. Figures for all works except *Ac1* include excerpts. In addition, Schmidt posits nineteen reconstructed mss. for *Leg* and I see the need for at least twenty-six for *Ac1*.

[4] Reynolds, *Texts* xxvii.

Most of the early texts of the *Academicus Primus* were found in company with the *De Finibus*; three of the earliest known copies, parent and children, are also accompanied by texts of Seneca. Of all the philosophical works, the *De Finibus* and *Academicus Primus* are notable for their lack of participation in any other common tradition: the earliest copy of the *De Senectute* also contains the *Tusculanae Disputationes*; the *De Senectute* and *De Amicitia* share a late tradition, at least; the *De Natura Deorum, De Divinatione, Timaeus,*[5] *De Fato, Topica, Paradoxa, Lucullus* and *De Legibus* share a common tradition; the *De Officiis* was found in company with various other works from the 9th century onwards.

The return of the *Academicus Primus* to Italy did not occur until the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century, when it was known to Dante. While the tradition of Γ enjoyed a modest expansion during the last decade of the 14th and in the 15th centuries, the family of *deteriores* exploded into 15th century Italy.

The powder for this explosion was provided by Conv, descended ultimately from P and directly from ω, which had been corrected against a member of the Γ tradition. The fuse belonged to Corbinelli, who was situated at Florence in the centre of humanism. Florence produced the largest number of extant copies of the *Academicus Primus* to emanate from a single city—24: four descendants of Γ (F, Ged, L, V), and twenty *deteriores* (Ball, Bodl.1, Bodl.2, Bon, Conv, Dresd.1, Fes, Gadd, Harl.3, Laur.1, Laur.2, Laur.3, Lond, Mon.1, Mon.2, Pal.2, Pier, Ricc.2, Urb, Yal).[6] They attest a lively period of activity which ran from the first decade of the 15th century until the 1470s.

The other early centre of production was the north-east of Italy, centred on Padua. From this area, as a whole, came probably eleven copies: five members of the Γ tradition (C, Ma, Mu, N_1, N_2), and six *deteriores* (Frei, Holm, Linc, Neap.3, Vanc, Ven). While the descendants of Γ were copied during the last quarter of the 14th and the first quarter of the 15th centuries, the *deteriores*, with the exception of Linc in 1420, were copied towards the middle of the 15th century.

Elsewhere, Milan produced seven copies, mainly *deteriores*, from about 1420 until the third quarter of the 15th century: Ambr.2,

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[5] *Tim* also appears with *Fin* and *Ac1* in the Bec catalogue and with *Ac1* at the Sorbonne.

[6] I have included Dresd.1 in this list, as did Schmidt, 411. Other manuscripts which are conservatively attributed to Italy, in general, may also have originated in Florence—e.g. Berl.

Ambr.3, Dresd.2, Neap.1, Perus, Scor.2 (?), Vat.1.[7] Five of these come from a single family among the *deteriores*. Activity at Rome started with Poggio's copy in 1425–6 (Ricc.1) from Florentine stock. But native interest was delayed until the 2nd half of the 15th century, close to the time when Sweynheim and Pannartz established their press at Subiaco. To this era we owe nine *deteriores*, including a manuscript copy of the *editio princeps*: Burn, Cant, Chis, Harl.1, Lucc, Ott.1, Ott.2, Scor.1, Vat.2. Outside these cities, Ferrara, under the influence of Guarino, produced two copies,[8] and Siena, possibly, one (Ross).

The first owners of manuscripts in the 15th century tended to be individuals, rather than institutions—churchmen, as before, such as Domenico de' Domenichi, William Gray, János Vitéz, Jean Jouffroy, Domenico Capranica, Pedro González de Mendoza, Marco Barbo, Francesco Pizolpasso, Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, Raphael de Mercatel and Archibald Whitelaw; aristocrats, such as Cosimo de' Medici and Federico da Montefeltro; humanists and scholars, such as Giovanni Conversini, Ognibene Scola, Poggio, Robert Flemmyng, and possibly Francesco Patrizi and Bartolomeo Scala; and businessmen and men of leisure, such as Vespasiano, Francesco Sassetti and Antonio Corbinelli. The only copy which we know to have been made specifically for an institution was that which Cosimo de' Medici commissioned for the Badia at Fiesole; but lost copies at San Marco and Santa Maria Novella at Florence may also have fallen into this category. Institutions naturally featured significantly among later owners of manuscripts, both religious, such as the Badia at Florence, San Giovanni at Carbonara, San Salvatore at Bologna, and Santa Cruz at Toledo, and profane libraries such as the Palatine and the Malatestiana; but individuals also entered this market: Giovanni da Rimini, Parrasio, Pier Vettori, Alessandro Farnese, Ulrich Fugger, Bernardo Puccini, Matthias Corvinus, the Duke of Altemps, Sambucus, Ottaviano Barbavara, Muretus, Marcello Cervini and Thomas Henryson.

[7] To this number might be added Par, which seems to have belonged to a member of the Visconti family.

[8] Schmidt, 412, believes that Ces also may have some connection with Ferrara.

The Extent of Contamination

As Schmidt found with the *De Legibus*, the extent of contamination in the manuscripts of the *Academicus Primus* is larger than might be portrayed by a simple stemma. The clearest examples of contamination are across the boundary created by the separate traditions of Γ and P: the contamination of descendants of P from Γ include the significant ones of ω and Conv (from γ), which produced a widely distributed edition through the *deteriores*, and those of Vanc, Ces (from C), Scor.1, Harl.2, τ, the parent of Neap.1, Perus, Vat.1 and Ven, and finally Chis. The only case of contamination in the opposite direction is that of Ma from ω. Contamination between members of the *deteriores* appears to have occurred with Neap.3 and Gand, and Harl.2 and Chis may well have been contaminated from more than one source, the former from Γ and Lucc, and the latter from Ged and another member of the *deteriores*.

In addition to these examples of contamination from a written source, we have seen the signs of possible contamination from an oral source, communicated by copyists who were working in a closed environment, both at Florence in the bookshop of Vespasiano (with descendants of Gadd and κ), and in the papal circle at Rome (Scor.1, Ott.2 and Ricc.1). Similarly, the production of several manuscripts by a single copyist, such as Giovanni Aretino (Mon.2 and Laur.2) and Lodovico Vannuccori (Lucc, Harl.1 and Burn) renders the representation of such traditions by means of a stemma extremely deceptive.

Plasberg as an Editor

The first doubt raised in this book is the last to be addressed:[9] what was the quality of Plasberg's work as an editor? While a detailed knowledge of Plasberg's editions is the obvious requirement to answer this doubt, interesting background information is supplied in his obituary by Rudolf Helm.

Plasberg was born in 1869 and was educated by his father, who was headmaster of the Progymnasium at Sobernheim. He went to the Gymnasium at Kreuznach in 1885 and matriculated two years

[9] See p. 1.

later. After two terms at Heidelberg and one at Bonn, he enrolled at the University of Berlin and studied Philology under Johannes Vahlen. His dissertation *De M. Tulli Ciceronis Hortensio Dialogo* was submitted at Berlin in 1892 and was accepted *magna cum laude.* After performing his military service he developed the first of several illnesses, necessitating surgery, which dogged him for the rest of his life. He won the Charlottenstiftung from the Prussian Academy at Berlin in 1895; this allowed him the financial freedom to dedicate himself to studies which resulted in '*Satura Tulliana*' in *Rheinisches Museum* 53 (1898) 66–97 and '*Vindiciae Tullianae*' in the *Festschrift für J. Vahlen*, Berlin, 1900, 219–248, and laid the foundation for his editions of Cicero's philosophical corpus.[10] Subsequently he served in academic posts at Strasbourg, Rostock, Prague and Hamburg, producing large-format Teubner editions of the *Paradoxa, Academicus Primus, Lucullus* and *Timaeus* in 1908, and the *De Natura Deorum* in 1911,[11] and small-format editions of the *De Natura Deorum* (Fasc. 45) and *De Gloria* (Fasc. 47) in 1917, the *Academicus Primus* and *Lucullus* (Fasc. 42) in 1922, and the *De Virtutibus* (Fasc. 48) in 1923. He died in 1924.

The overall impression which Helm gives of Plasberg is of a serious man, conscientious, reliable and quiet in his work, loyal to his few friends, but full of self-doubt in his ability, with a tendency to depression.[12] Other people, however, seemed more sure of his philological capabilities and his fitness to take on the task of editing Cicero's philosophical works.[13]

Of all the works which Plasberg edited, the *Academicus Primus* is the only one in which a full list of manuscripts is given, albeit as

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[10] This expression seems to mean what we now know as the Leiden corpus, as contained in the excerpts of Hadoard.

[11] The promised edition of *Div* and *Fat* never materialised.

[12] Wilhelm Studemund, in a letter to Plasberg's father, wrote:

> *Ihr Herr Sohn hat einen vorzüglichen, zuverlässigen Charakter, arbeitet stetig und ruhig, ist bei den wissenschaftlichen Studien vorsichtig im Schliessen und doch entschieden mit ungewöhnlichem Talent und grosser Beweglichkeit der Phantasie auf dem Gebiete der vergleichenden und historischen Grammatik ausgestattet.*

It is quoted in Helm, 123.

[13] The decision of the Prussian Academy to award him the Charlottenstiftung, quoted in Helm, 125–6, read:

> *Aber seine Kenntnis des klassischen Lateins und seine Sicherheit in kritisch-exegetischen Fragen verrät eine ausgesprochene philologische Begabung, die ihn für die in Aussicht genommene weitere Aufgabe, eine Neuausgabe des philosophischen Corpus Ciceros, in erster Linie geeignet erscheinen lässt.*

an afterthought to fill up a blank half-page at the end of the fascicle.[14] In identifying them I assume that he used library catalogues, where they existed, and the knowledge of acquaintances who had handled manuscripts in their libraries. Of 69 manuscripts then extant, Plasberg listed 55, and claimed to have collated nearly 60. Of the 14 which he missed, six (Frei, Holm, Lond, Sant, Vat.2, and Yal) had not been catalogued or mentioned in an article by 1922.[15] Three had already appeared in library catalogues before 1908: C had first been mentioned in 1762 and was described in catalogues in 1780 and 1887, along with Ces, which Plasberg knew; Ven had been described in catalogues in 1741 and 1871; and Bodl.2 had been described in a catalogue in 1891. A further three had already been mentioned or described before Plasberg's edition of 1908: Berl in the van Santen library at Amsterdam in 1800, which had found its way to Berlin and might reasonably be expected to be known to Plasberg; Cant, which had been described by Reid in 1885 but without a shelf-mark; and Lucc, which was described in a widely available article in 1906, but where the identity of the *Academicus Primus* was obscured as book six of the *De Finibus*. Lastly, two manuscripts were first described between Plasberg's two editions: Pier in 1908 and Ross in 1911. In view of the turmoil which Plasberg's life, like so many million others, underwent during this time, it is perhaps not surprising that he did no new research on the *Academicus Primus* in between time: such tends to be the normal habit in less troubled times. In spite of these omissions, Plasberg's list of manuscripts of the *Academicus Primus* was impressive and exceeded the number known to all previous editors by nearly forty.[16]

Although Plasberg knew of so many manuscripts and may well have either collated or had collated for him all of them, his conclusions, as we have seen, are baldly presented with little argument to back them up. First of all, he made no attempt to produce a stemma, limiting himself to the observations that the Γ tradition consisted of a *genus corruptum* and a *genus interpolatum*, that P was related *intimo cognationis vinculo* to Leid, Pal.1, Amst and Vict, that Vict is nearest to Amst, and that the *deteriores*, which he distributed into

[14] Plasberg, 126: *Charta ne vacet sine usu, hic breviter enumerabo Academici I codices qui sunt stirpis ω.*

[15] It is surprising that he was unaware of Frei, in a German university library.

[16] The only manuscript which Plasberg appears to have 'discovered' himself is Ott.3.

eight *stirpes* and a classification of *incerti*, go back to an exemplar which was close to P. Within this modest set are some surprising observations: firstly, the decision in the 1922 edition to record the readings of N_2 (ν), Scor.2 (φ_2), and Ged (γ) and omit those of Ma (ν_1), L (φ_1), and F (γ_1) when the former, respectively, are descendants of the latter. Secondly, the inclusion of Conv in the ζ family of the *deteriores*, when it is clearly the source of all the *deteriores*. Thirdly, the placement of Linc in ζ, when it has more in common with another group of manuscripts. Lastly, the allocation of Scor.1 to the *incerti* when it is clearly the parent of Ott.2 in a well-established family, which he identified. Some of these mistakes would surely have been avoided had Plasberg known of manuscripts such as C, which would have resolved the problems with Ma and N_2. But the main source of errors is surely attributable to Plasberg's dependence on other people for his collations: he knew the text of the *Academicus Primus* better than any one else alive and knew where to look for readings and agreements in a way which no-one else knew. If only he had had the advantage of cheap microfilm (facsimiles and photographic prints were available but expensive) he would surely have tidied up most of the loose ends. Plasberg's silence leaves us to speculate on his behalf: he deferred his promise to discuss manuscript relationships of the *Academicus Primus* from the first volume of the large-format edition to the third, which was never published.[17]

The text which Plasberg presented is generally a sensible one which is close in spirit to Halm and Baiter, and has been followed more or less faithfully by all subsequent 'editors'. Contemporary reviews of both 1908 and 1922 editions commented on the closeness of Plasberg's text to the manuscript tradition and its superiority over predecessors.[18] But there were criticisms: most reviewers were agreed on the excessive conservatism of his text; Plasberg's abilities, his diligence and learning were not in doubt, but his method of presentation was attacked on several grounds: the lack of dates for

[17] According to L. Denecke, *Die Nachlässe in den Bibliotheken der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Boppard, 1969, what remains of Plasberg's papers lies in the university library at Hamburg and in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek at Berlin.

[18] Reviews of the large-format (1908 and 1911) edition include: T. Stangl, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 28 (1908) 1557–64; E. Thomas, *Revue Critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* 62 (1911) 211–214; A.C. Clark, *Classical Review* 28 (1914) 63–4. The 1922 edition was reviewed by C. Giarratano, *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 29 (1922–2) 134–5; C. Brakman, *Museum, Maanblad voor Philologie en Geschiedenis* 30 (1923) 203–4; and R. Philippson, *Philologische Wochenschrift* 43 (1923) 148–53.

manuscripts, the pedantic reporting of orthographic variants, inconsistencies, and the confusion of all kinds of references in the apparatus of the 1908 edition. Several textual readings were discussed and improvements were suggested.[19] On the point of methodology I should like to add a criticism of Plasberg's practice of using Greek minuscule characters to designate extant manuscripts, reconstructed manuscripts, and families of manuscripts without further distinction. Secondly, many readings from printed editions, reported in both 1908 and 1922 editions, are wrongly attributed: the main reasons appear to be non-use of the edition of Minutianus, failure to study different editions of certain editors (especially Ascensius and Paulus Manutius), and an inconsistent use of the *editio princeps*, as well as plain errors which probably came from a confusion of his notes.

In defence of Plasberg's text, however, it should be said that it is an honest and balanced treatment of the manuscript tradition with long-standing emendations, where necessary, but relatively few modern emendations. The result was a text which was free from the artificiality of many of his predecessors, who made Cicero say what they wanted, rather than what the tradition had handed down. The modern emendations which Plasberg allowed into his text are mainly by other people and bear out the lack of self-confidence which is projected in his obituary; unless, of course, Plasberg was a methodical plodder without a spark of imagination or originality.

[19] Further improvements were suggested by M. Ruch, 'Observations sur le texte et sur le sens de quelques passages des Academica Posteriora', *RP* 44 (1970) 76–83.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

LOST MANUSCRIPTS

1. Goerenz, v–vi:

> *Fragmentum codicis, quod sic appellavimus, cum hic liber ab initio et a fine mutilus esset (incipit enim ¶ 7 libri I et deficit libro II ¶ 131) neque ulla nota distingueretur. Allatum ad nos est ex Italia, forma quadrata, scriptura Romana, literis minutis, lineis stilo ductis, verbis haud raro male vel nexis, vel distractis, pergamena male rasa: omnibusque reliquis signis seculum XII prae se ferens. . . .*

The readings of this fragment which are presented by Goerenz do not follow a consistent pattern of agreement with any other manuscript: it does, however, agree with Bas in the transpositions *dicta sint* at 4,14 (6.30), *erat enim* (with Wash and C as well) at 5,21 (9.24–5), and *mundi esse* (with Harl.2) at 7,28 (12.29). On the evidence of readings from known manuscripts which are presented by Goerenz, however, we may suspect some confusion on his part in attributing readings to specific manuscripts.

2. Orlandi, 49; Florence, S. Maria Novella, in a catalogue dated 5 November 1489:

> *435 Liber de finibus bonorum et malorum de offitiis. Tusculanarum. De legibus. De caso. De Achademicis.*

It is unclear whether this referred to the *Ac1* or *Luc*: the proximity of *Fin* suggests the former, but *Leg* and *Fat* (= *De caso*?) are usually found with *Luc*.

3. Orlandi, 49: Florence, S. Maria Novella, as above:

> *Iginius de ymaginibus et Tullius de accademicis et quedam alia.*

This could, of course, refer to either *Ac1* or *Luc*.

4. Ullman & Stadter, 226: Florence, S. Marco, catalogue dating from 1499 or 1500:

> *in banco XXIIII ex parte occidentis.*

870 *Eiusdem* [sc. *MTC*] *de achademicis, item calumnia ex Luciano, item quarta comedia Terentii, et alia in volumine parvo albo in papiro.*

Once again, this could refer to *Ac1* or *Luc.*

5. Ullman, Studies 178; Ullman & Stadter, 229: Florence, S. Marco, as above:

888 *4. M.T. Ciceronis de finibus bonorum et malorum, achademicorum, partitiones, de caelo et mundo, de fato, item Francisci Petrarchae Florentini de vita solitaria, Leonardi Aretini tralatio hyconomicorum cum commento, et multae epistolae Francisci Petrarchae et Leonardi Aretini, item expositio super librum Martiani Capellae, item invective sive potius responsio in Leonardum Aretinum pro translatione libri ethicorum in qua falso et ridicule carpit quendam fratrem ordinis praedicatorum, et multa alia pulchra opuscula, in volumine satis magno rubeo in papiro.*

The manuscript was subsequently split up: the part which contained letters of Petrarch and Bruni and the work of Martianus Capella now forms ms. Firenze, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. I I 28, and the *De Vita Solitaria* of Petrarch and other works appear in Vat. Lat. 3357. The Cicero portion appears to have filled fols. 1–107. Rouse & Rouse, 364 n. 91, believe the Cicero portion of this ms. to have been a 14th-century member of the Γ family: there is a resemblance to the Cicero part of the Bec ms. (Pomponius Mela, *Fin, Ac1, Part,* Candidus Arianus, Hilary). Once again, this could refer to *Ac1* or *Luc.*

6. Capasso, 591: Naples, Bibl. di S. Severino:

Un manoscritto in pergamena in ottavo delle quistioni Accademicche di Cicerone di bel carratere, ed antico (n. 93).

If this were just *Ac1* or *Luc,* it would be a thin manuscript. Both these works are found together in Harl.2, but that ms. does not bear the shelf-mark '93' nor does it have any known connection with Naples.

7. Roma, Bibl. Vallicelliana, E.53: reported to me by Professor Reeve as being included in the inventory of 1749, but indicated as missing from the shelf by 1889. (See p. 186).

8. Montfaucon, Bibliotheca I 482; Deschamps, 137: Venice, Bibl. Tarvisiana:

> *Ad Quinctum fratrem, Ad familiares, Tusculanae, Academicae quaestiones, de fato, orationes in variis codicibus.*

Professor Lucio Puttin of the Bibl. Comunale at Treviso informs me that no manuscript containing *Ac1* exists either there or at the Bibl. Capitolare.

9. P. Tomasini, *Bibliothecae Venetae Manuscriptae*, Udine, 1650, 15: Venice, S. Antonio:

> *Pluteus XI De Finibus, & de Academicis Quaestionibus, eleganter in 4.m.*

This could, of course, be any of several extant manuscripts: Bodl.2, Frei, Harl.1, Harl.3 or Mon.1.

APPENDIX B

A LIST OF PRINTED EDITIONS

In this list of printed editions of the *Academicus Primus* the following scheme is used: date of edition (where known, I have given the date of the volume containing *Ac1*); place of publication; editor; publisher or printer; format; no. of vols. or no. of fols./pages, if only 1 vol.; contents (*Ac1* reference); date of first or later editions; references; library and shelf-mark of copy consulted; other information.[1] Editions which I have handled in person are prefixed by an asterisk (*).

*1471 Rome. Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz. Folio. 361 fols. 2 parts (part 1: 27 April; part 2: 20 Sept.) The *editio princeps* of Cicero's philosophical works. Brit. Libr. C.1.c.11. Edited by Giovanni Andrea Bussi, according to M. Miglio, *DBI* 15 (1972) 568. (See pp. 209–10.)

1475? No indication of place, printer or date. 144 fols. *Ac1, Leg, Off, Sen, Am, Somn, Parad, Fin, Tusc, Nat, Div, Fat, Tim,* Aratus, *Phaenomena.* Hain, 5230; Dibdin, 451 n.; Pease, *Div* 620, *Nat* 89.

*1494 Venice. Christoferus de Pensis. Folio. 138 fols. *Leg, Ac1* (17^r–20^r), *Luc, Nat, Div, Fin, Pet, Fat, Tim, Somn.* Hain, 5340; Schweiger, 172; Orelli, 308; Graesse, 170; Burger, 235; Pellechet, 3791; *Catalogue,* V 469; *Gesamtkatalog,* 6904; Stillwell, 147; Guarnaschelli, 2880; Pease, *Div* 621, *Nat* 89; Goff, C570; Flodr, 113; Schmidt, 402. Brit. Libr. IB 23468.

*1496 Venice. Simon Bivilaqua de Gabis. Folio. 144 fols. *Fin, Leg, Ac1* (58^r–61^r), *Luc, Div, Nat, Pet, Fat, Tim, Somn.* Hain, 5232; Schweiger, 172; Orelli, 309; Graesse, 170; Burger, 36; Copinger,

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[1] Among the many problems in identifying editions through references are:

a) The date may be absent from the printed edition, or the title-page and text may bear different dates. Some editions were published over a range of years, so that references can be to the start-date, completion-date, or date of a particular volume.
b) The place of publication is not always certain: it was not rare, especially in the 16th and early 17th centuries, for editions to bear false places of publication. This applied especially to Paris, Lyon and Geneva.
c) Editions appear to have been published in different formats at the same place and time.
d) Editions were published in such a way that the philosophical works, for example, could stand alone or be part of an edition of the complete works.

5232; Proctor, 5399; *Catalogue*, V 521; *Gesamtkatalog*, 6905; Stillwell, 147; Guarnaschelli, 2882; Pease, *Div* 621, *Nat* 90; Goff, C572; Flodr, 113. Brit. Libr. IB 23963. A reprint of the de Pensis text.

*1499 Milan. Alexander Minutianus. Printed by Guillermus le Signerre. Folio. 4 vols. The *editio princeps* of Cicero's complete works (*Acl*: IV, 1r–3v) + Aratus, *Phaenomena*. Fabricius, 216–7; Ernesti, I xxii; Bipontine, I lxxxii; Harwood, 201; Hain, 5056; Dibdin, 389–90; Schweiger, 102–3; Orelli, 197; Moss, 285–8; Brunet, 6; Graesse, 156; Deschamps, 49; Burger, 205; Copinger, 5056; Proctor, 6072; Pellechet, 3583; D. Reichling, *Appendices ad Hainii-Copingeri Repertorium Bibliographicum*, Munich, 1906, II 149–50; *Catalogue*, VI 790; *Gesamtkatalog*, 6708; Stillwell, 144; Guarnaschelli, 2797; Pease, *Div* 621, *Nat* 90; Goff, C498; Flodr, 95; Schmidt, 391. Brit. Libr. IC 26894.

1507 Paris. Iodocus Badius Ascensius (Josse Bade). Octavo. Later editions: 1511, 1521, 1527, 1531. *Catalogue of Books concerning the Greek and Latin Classics in the Central Public Libraries*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1912, 99; Pease, *Div* 621, *Nat* 90. Renouard, *Bade* I 148, however, records only the later editions of Bade, and Moreau omits mention of any such edition.

*1511 Paris. Ascensius. Published by Jehan Petit. Folio. 4 vols. Complete works (*Acl*: III, ir–iiiv) + Aratus, *Phaenomena*. First edition: 1507. Fabricius, 217; Ernesti, I xxiii; Bipontine, I lxxxii; Dibdin, 391; Schweiger, 103; Orelli, 197; Moss, 288; Brunet, 6; Graesse, 156, 171; Deschamps, 50; Renouard, *Bade* I 78, II 277–8; Pease, *Div* 622, *Nat* 90; Moreau, II 67. Brit. Libr. 1484.g.8 (1). Based on Minutianus.

1521 Paris. Ascensius. Published by Petit. Folio. 4 fols. First edition: 1507. Fabricius, 217; Ernesti, I xxiv; Bipontine, I lxxxiii; Dibdin, 391; Schweiger, 103; Orelli, 198; Moss, 288–9; Brunet, 6; Graesse, 156; Renouard, *Bade* I 90, II 278–9; Pease, *Div* 622, *Nat* 90.

*1523 Venice. Andreas Naugerius (Navagero). Published by Andreas Asulanus (d'Asola). Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Acl*: I, 39r–47v). Fabricius, 217; Ernesti, I xxiii; Bipontine, I lxxxiii; Harwood, 202; Dibdin, 392; Schweiger, 172; Renouard, *Alde* 97; Orelli, 309; Moss, 289; Brunet, 16; Graesse, 171; Pease, *Div* 621, *Nat* 90. Brit. Libr. 165.d.9. First Aldine edition.

1525 Basle. Published by Valentinus Curio (Schaffner). 347 pp. *Luc, Acl, Tusc.* Orelli 313.

*1527 Paris. Ascensius. Published by Petit. Octavo. 4 vols. Complete works (*Acl*: III, ir–iiiv) + Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, Aratus, *Phaenomena*. First edition: 1507. Renouard, *Bade* I 93, II 279–80. Brit. Libr. 1474.d.3* (1).

*1528 Basle. Michael Bentinus. Published by Andreas Cratander (Hartmann). Folio. 3 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: III, 199^{r}–201^{v}) + Petrarch, *Epist. ad Cic.*, Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, Aratus, *Phaenomena*. Fabricius, 217; Ernesti, I xxv; Bipontine, I lxxxiii; Dibdin, 393; Schweiger, 103; Orelli, 198; Moss, 289–90; Graesse, 156; Deschamps, 51; Pease, *Div* 622, *Nat* 91. Brit. Libr. C120.g.5. Based on 1527 edition of Ascensius.

*1531 Paris. Ascensius. Folio. 4 vols. Complete works (*Acad* IV, i^{r}–iv^{r}) + Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, Aratus, *Phaenomena*. First edition: 1507. Orelli, 198; Renouard, *Bade* I 97, II 280. Brit. Libr. 835.l.15.

*1534 Basle. Published by Johann Herwagen. Folio. 4 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: IV, 1–7) + Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, Aratus, *Phaenomena*. Fabricius, 217; Ernesti, I xxvi; Bipontine, I lxxxiii; Dibdin, 393; Schweiger, 103; Orelli, 198–9; Moss, 290; Graesse, 156; Deschamps, 49–50; Pease, *Div* 622, *Nat* 91. Brit. Libr. 11396.l.1. Based on Bentinus.

1535 Paris. Simon Colinaeus (de Colines). Octavo. 50 fols. *Ac1* and *Luc*. Later edition: 1545. Schweiger, 175; Orelli, 313; Moss, 290–1; Graesse, 171; Renouard, *Colines* 243; Bibl. Nat. Cat. 61 no. 474; Schmitt, 190.

*1536 Venice. Petrus Victorius (Pier Vettori). Published by Lucantonio Giunta. Folio. 4 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: IV, 5–13) + Aratus, *Phaenomena*. Later editions: 1538, 1571. Fabricius, 218; Ernesti, I xxvii; Bipontine, I lxxxiv; Harwood, 201; Dibdin, 394–5; Schweiger, 103; Orelli, 199–200; Brunet, 6–7; Graesse, 156; Deschamps, 50; Pease, *Div* 622, *Nat* 91; Schmitt, 55 n. 42. Brit. Libr. 656.d.8. Based on Aldine and Ascensius.

*1538 Paris. Victorius. Published by Robert Estienne. Folio. 4 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: IV, 3–9) + Aratus, *Phaenomena*. First edition: 1536. Fabricius, 218; Ernesti, I xxix; Bipontine, I lxxxiv; Harwood, 202; Schweiger, 103; Orelli, 200–1; Moss, 291; Renouard, *Estienne* 48; Brunet, 7; Graesse, 156; Deschamps, 51; Pease, *Div* 622, *Nat* 91. Brit. Libr. C81.k.9.

*1540 Venice. Vincent Vaugris. Published 'in officina Erasmiana'. Printed by Cominus de Tridino Montisferati (Comin da Trino). 16mo. 3 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 39r–47^{v}). Brit. Libr. 835.a.6 (1). A copy of the Aldine.

1540 Basle. Joachim Camerarius. Published by Herwagen. Folio. 4 vols. Complete works. Fabricius, 218; Ernesti, I xxix–xxx; Bipontine, I lxxxv; Dibdin, 393; Schweiger, 104; Orelli, 201; Moss, 290; Graesse, 156; Deschamps, 51; Pease, *Div* 622, *Nat* 91; Schmitt, 55 n. 43.

1540 Lyon. Johannes Michael Brutus. Published by Sebastianus Gryphius (Greif). Octavo. 3 vols. Philosophical works. Later edi-

tions: 1546, 1548, 1551, 1555, 1557, 1559, 1562, 1570, 1574, 1576, 1579, 1585 (2). Fabricius, 218; Ernesti, I xxix; Bipontine, I lxxxv; Dibdin, 395; Schweiger, 104; Orelli, 201; Moss, 291; Graesse, 156; Deschamps, 51; Baudrier, VIII 139–40; Pease, *Div* 622, *Nat* 91.

*1541 Strasbourg. Johann Sturm. Published by Wendelin Rihel. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 39^{r}–47^{v}). Later editions: 1549, 1553, 1557, 1569, 1571, 1574, 1578. Fabricius, 218; Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Schweiger, 172; Orelli, 201–2; Graesse, 171; Pease, *Div* 622, *Nat* 91; Ritter, *Répertoire* I 331–2; Steinberg, 76. Brit. Libr. 525.c.1. Based on the Aldine and Ascensius.

*1541 Venice. Paulus Manutius. Published 'apud Aldi filios'. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 39^{r}–47^{v}). Later editions: 1543, 1546, 1546–7, 1552 (2), 1555 (2), 1560, 1562, 1565, 1582. Fabricius, 218; Ernesti, I xxx–xxxii; Bipontine, I lxxxv; Dibdin, 395–6; Schweiger, 104; Renouard, *Alde* 122; Orelli, 201; Moss, 291–2; Graesse, 156, 171; Deschamps, 50; Reid, 70; Pease, *Div* 622, *Nat* 91; Schmitt, 55 n 44; Glucker, *Chapter* 109. Brit. Libr. 8461.b.14. Based on the Aldine edition.

1542 Louvain. Justus Velsius (Wels or Welsens). Published by Servatus Zassenus. First separate edition of *Ac1*. Schmitt, 57 n 59, says of this edition: 'It seems to have been printed but once and copies are apparently exceedingly rare . . . I have read the copy extant in the Vatican Library, shelfmark: Palat. IV 97 (int. 8)'.

*1543 Paris. Paulus Manutius. Published by Robert Estienne. Octavo. 13 tomes in 8 or 9 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: VII, 77–95). First edition: 1541. Fabricius, 219; Ernesti, I xxxii–xxxiii; Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Harwood, 202; Dibdin, 397; Schweiger, 104; Orelli, 202; Moss, 292; Renouard, *Estienne* 57–8; Brunet, 7; Graesse, 156–7; Deschamps, 50; Pease, *Div* 622–3, *Nat* 91. Brit. Libr. C.14.a.18.

*1545 Paris. Colinaeus. Octavo (12mo according to Deschamps, and 16mo according to Brunet and Renouard). 10 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: I, 50^{r}–61^{v}). First edition: 1535. Fabricius, 219; Ernesti, I xxxiii; Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Harwood, 202; Dibdin, 397; Schweiger, 104; Orelli, 202; Moss, 292; Brunet, 7; Graesse, 157; Deschamps, 51; Renouard, *Colines* 402–3; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 91. Bodl. Libr. 8° Rawl. 462,3. Based on Manutius.

*1546 Lyon. Brutus. Published by S. Gryphius. 16mo (12mo according to Schweiger). 3 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 103–25). First edition: 1540. Bipontine, I lxxxvii; Dibdin, 395; Schweiger, 104; Orelli, 202; Moss, 291; Deschamps, 51; Brunet, 7; Graesse, 157; Baudrier, VIII 206; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 91. Brit. Libr. 57.k.15. Based on Manutius.

*1546 Venice. Paulus Manutius. Published 'apud Aldi filios'. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works: *Ac1* (I, 39^{r}–47^{v}). First edition: 1541.

Schweiger, 104; Renouard, *Alde* 137; Orelli, 202; Graesse, 171; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 91. Brit. Libr. 1385.b.3.

1546–7 Paris. Paulus Manutius. Published by Robert Estienne. 16mo. 10 vols. Complete works. First edition: 1541. Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 91.

1547 Paris. Audomarus Talaeus (Omer Talon). Later editions: 1550, 1576. Schmitt, 55 n. 47, 81.

1548 Lyon. Brutus. Published by S. Gryphius. 16mo. 2 vols. Philosophical works. First edition: 1540. Fabricius, 218; Baudrier, VIII 225. Reprint of 1546 edition.

1549 Strasbourg. Sturm. Published by W. Rihel. First edition: 1541. Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 91; Ritter, *Répertoire* I 334–5. Dated 1548 by all except Ritter.

*1550 Paris. Talaeus. Published by Matthaeus David. 74 pp. *Ac1* (25–71) only. First edition: 1547. Schweiger, 175; Orelli, 313. Brit. Libr. 11405.cc.1. The copy consulted does not include the *Luc*, unlike the copy which Schmitt, 81–2, describes.

1550 Paris. Published by Michael Vascosanus. Quarto. Orelli, *Analecta* 348.

1551 Lyon. Brutus. Published by S. Gryphius. 12mo or 16mo. 2 vols. Philosophical works. First edition: 1540. Bipontine, I lxxxvii; Harwood, 202; Dibdin, 395; Moss, 291; Deschamps, 51; Baudrier, VIII 254; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 91. Dated 1550 by all except Bipontine and Baudrier.

1551 Basle. Commentary by Marsus and Betuleius? Octavo. 10 vols. Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92.

*1552 Venice. Paulus Manutius. Published 'apud Aldi filios'. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 39^{r}–47^{v}). First edition: 1541. Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Renouard, *Alde* 154; Orelli, 310; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92. Brit. Libr. 1385.b.6.

1552 Lyon. Paulus Manutius. Published by S. Gryphius. Octavo. 3 vols. Philosophical works. First edition: 1541. Schweiger, 173; Orelli, 310; Baudrier, VIII 261–2.

*1553 Paris. Adrianus Turnebus. Quarto. 43 pp. *Ac1* (1–40) only. Later edition: 1594. Dibdin, 455; Schweiger, 176; Orelli, 314; Moss, 340–1; Reid, 70; Schmitt, 55 n 48. Brit. Libr. C132.h.35.

1553 Strasbourg. Sturm. Octavo. 2 vols. First edition: 1541. Orelli, 310.

*1555 Venice. Paulus Manutius. Published by the Aldine Press. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 39^{r}–47^{v}). First edition: 1541. Ernesti, I xxix; Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Harwood, 202; Renouard, *Alde* 164–5; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92. Brit. Libr. 1385.c.10.

*1555 Paris. Paulus Manutius. Published by Charles Estienne. Folio. 4 tomes in 2 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: IV, 32–9) + Aratus, *Phaenomena*. First edition: 1541. Fabricius, 219; Ernesti, I xxxiv; Bipontine, I lxxxvii; Dibdin, 397; Schweiger, 104; Orelli, 202–3; Moss, 292; Renouard, *Estienne* 109; Brunet, 7; Graesse, 157; Deschamps, 50; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92; Glucker, *Chapter* 109. Brit. Libr. 11396.l.3.

1555 Lyon. Brutus. Published by S. Gryphius. Octavo. 9 vols. First edition: 1540. Schweiger, 104; Orelli, 203; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92.

1556 Paris. Published by Wechel. Quarto. Orelli, 314.

1557 Strasbourg. Sturm. First edition: 1541. Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Moss, 291; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92.

1557 Lyon. Brutus. Published by S. Gryphius. 12mo. 2 vols. First edition: 1540. Schweiger, 173; Orelli, 310.

*1558 Paris. Leodegarius a Quercu (Léger Duchesne). Published by Thomas Richard. Quarto. *Ac1* (2^r–10^v) only. Later edition: 1561. Schmitt, 55 n. 49. Brit. Libr. 566.d.28. Based on Manutius.

*1559 Lyon. Brutus. Published by the heirs of Sebastianus Gryphius. 16mo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 103–25). First edition: 1540. Fabricius, 218; Bipontine, I lxxxvii; Dibdin, 395; Schweiger, 104; Orelli, 203; Moss, 291; Deschamps, 51; Baudrier, VIII 293; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92. Brit. Libr. 524.a.6.

*1560 Venice. Paulus Manutius. Published by the Aldine Press. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 48^r–58^r). First edition: 1541. Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Dibdin, 396; Renouard, *Alde* 180; Orelli, 310; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92. Brit. Libr. 1385.b.1.

1560 Lyon. Joannes Boulierius (Jean Boulier). Published by Jean Frellon and Antoine Vincent. Octavo or 16mo. 2 vols. Philosophical works. Later editions: 1560 (2), 1562 (2). Bipontine, I lxxxvii; Schweiger, 173; Orelli, 310; Baudrier, V 251–2; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92; Brit. Libr. Cat., 338.

1560 Lyon. Boulier. Published by Frellon and Vincent. Octavo. 12 vols. Complete works. First edition: 1560. Baudrier, V 251.

1560 Lyon. Boulier. Published by Gryphius. 12mo. 10 vols. First edition: 1560. Schweiger, 104.

*1561 Paris. Duchesne. Published by Richard. Quarto. *Ac1* (2^r–10^v) only. First edition: 1558. Schmitt, 190. Brit. Libr. 11350.f.3 (6).

1562 Lyon. Boulier. Published by Frellon and Vincent. 16mo. 2 vols. Philosophical works. First edition: 1560. Orelli, 310; Baudrier, V 259.

1562 Lyon. Boulier. Published by Frellon and Vincent. Octavo. 12

vols. Complete works. First edition: 1560. Fabricius, 219; Ernesti, I xxxiv; Schweiger, 173; Orelli, 310; Baudrier, V 259–60; Brit. Libr. Cat., 327.

1562 Lyon. Brutus. Published by the heirs of S. Gryphius. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works. First edition: 1540. Baudrier, VIII 307.

1562 Venice. Paulus Manutius. Aldine Press. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works. First edition: 1541. Renouard, *Alde* 187; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92. Reprint of 1560 edition.

*1565 Paris. Dionysius Lambinus (Denis Lambin). Published by Jacques Dupuys, Bernard Turrisan and Philippe Gualtier Rouillé. Folio. 4 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: IV, 3–10). Later editions: 1573, 1577, 1579, 1580 (2), 1581, 1584 (2), 1585 (2), 1588 (2), 1594 (2), 1596 (2), 1606 (3), 1608, 1615–16, 1616 (2), 1617, 1624, 1625, 1626, 1633, 1646, 1659–60. Fabricius, 219; Ernesti, I xxxvi–xxxviii; Bipontine, I lxxxvii; Dibdin, 397–8; Schweiger, 104; Renouard, *Alde* 297–8; Orelli, 203–4; Moss, 292–4; Brunet, 7; Graesse, 157; Deschamps, 52; Reid, 70; Baudrier, IX 11; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92; Schmitt, 55 n 50; Glucker, *Chapter* 109. Brit. Libr. 656.g.6.

*1565 Venice. Paulus Manutius. Published by the Aldine Press. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 48^r–58^r). First edition: 1541. Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Schweiger, 173; Renouard, *Alde* 198; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92. Brit. Libr. 525.c.6.

1569 Venice. Paulus Manutius. Published by Aldine Press. Octavo. 9 or 10 vols. Bipontine, I lxxxix; Dibdin, 396; Schweiger, 105; Orelli, 204; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92.

1569 Strasbourg. Sturm. Published by Josiah Rihel. Octavo. 2 vols. First edition: 1541. Schweiger, 173; Orelli, 310; Ritter, *Répertoire* I 350–1; Schmitt, 190.

1570 Lyon. Brutus. Published by Antonius Gryphius. 16mo. 11 tomes in 9 vols. First edition: 1540. Fabricius, 218; Bipontine, I lxxxix; Schweiger, 105; Orelli, 204; Moss, 291; Deschamps, 51; Baudrier, VIII 356; Pease, *Div* 623, *Nat* 92; Schmitt, 55 n. 51.

1571 Florence. Victorius. First edition: 1536. Fabricius, 218; Ernesti, I xxviii; Bipontine, I lxxxv; Pease, *Nat* 92.

1571 Strasbourg. Sturm. Published by J. Dupuys and J. Rihel. Octavo. 2 vols. First edition: 1541. Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Bibl. Nat. Cat., 38 no. 286; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 92; Ritter, *Répertoire* V 117. Ritter dates this edition 1572 and says the text was Lambinus'.

*1573 Paris. Lambinus. Published by Jacques Dupuys (or J. Benenatus). Octavo. 8 tomes in 10 vols. Complete works (Ac1: IX,

4136–52). First edition: 1565. Fabricius, 219; Ernesti, I xxxviii; Bipontine, I lxxxix; Dibdin, 397; Schweiger, 105; Orelli, 204–5; Moss, 294; Brunet, 8; Bibl. Nat. Cat., 39 no. 287; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 92; Kenney, 67. Brit. Libr. 1490.l.9. A completely different text from the 1565 edition.

*1574 Lyon. Brutus. Published by A. Gryphius. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*AcI*: I, 77–93). First edition: 1540. Moss, 291; Baudrier, VIII 364–5; Pease, *Nat* 92. Brit. Libr. 525.c.3.

1574 Strasbourg. Sturm. Published by J. Rihel. Octavo. 2 tomes in 1 vol. First edition: 1541. Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Schweiger, 173; Orelli, 311; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 92; Ritter, *Répertoire* I 352–3.

1576 Basle. Talaeus. First edition: 1547. Bouillet, x; Schweiger, 175.

1576 Lyon. Brutus. Published by A. Gryphius. 12mo. 2 vols. First edition: 1540. Orelli, 311.

*1577 Lyon or Geneva. Lambinus. Published by Petrus Santandreanus. Folio. 4 tomes in 2 vols. Philosophical works (*AcI*: IV, 3–10). First edition: 1565. Ernesti, I xxxviii; Bipontine, I lxxxix; Dibdin, 397; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93; Chaix, 89; Schmidt, 219; Glucker, *Chapter* 109. Brit. Libr. 11396.l.4.

1578 Strasbourg. Sturm. Published by Rihel. First edition: 1541. Bipontine, I lxxxvi; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93.

1579 Lyon. Brutus. Published by A. Gryphius. Octavo or 16mo. 2 vols. Philosophical works. First edition: 1540. Ernesti, I xxix; Bipontine, I lxxxix; Dibdin, 395; Schweiger, 105; Orelli, 205; Deschamps, 51; Baudrier, VIII 377; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93.

1579 Venice. Lambinus. Octavo. 9 vols. First edition: 1565. Bibl. Nat. Cat., 39 no. 288.

1580 Paris or Geneva. Lambinus. Published by Santandreanus. Octavo. 9 vols. First edition: 1565. Dibdin, 397; Schweiger, 105; Orelli, 205; Pease, *Nat* 93; Chaix, 97.

1580 Lyon. Lambinus. Published by Santandreanus. Octavo. 3 parts in 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Dibdin, 398; Bibl. Nat. Cat., 39 no. 289; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93.

*1581 Strasbourg. Lambinus. Published by J. Rihel and Dupuys. Octavo. 10 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: X, 2^{r}–10^{v}). First edition: 1565. Bipontine, I lxxxix; Dibdin, 398; Schweiger, 105; Orelli, 205; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93; Ritter, *Répertoire* I 355–8. Warburg Institute AKH 328.

1582 Venice. Paulus Manutius. Published by Aldine Press. Folio. 4 vols. First edition: 1541. Harwood, 202; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93.

*1583 Venice. Aldus Manutius nepos. Published by the Aldine Press. Folio. 10 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: VIII, 34–41). Fabricius,

220; Ernesti, I xl; Bipontine, I lxxxix–xc; Harwood, 202; Dibdin, 398–9; Schweiger, 105; Renouard, *Alde* 232–3; Orelli, 205; Moss, 294; Brunet, 8; Graesse, 157, 171; Deschamps, 53; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93; Schmitt, 55 n. 54. Brit. Libr. C.77.e.1.

*1584 Paris. Lambinus with notes by Fulvius Ursinus (Orsini). Published by Santandreanus. Folio. 4 tomes in 2 vols. Complete works (*Ac1* IV, 3–10). First edition: 1565. Bipontine, I lxxxix; Dibdin, 397; Orelli, 205–6; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93. Senate House Libr. Bb (Cicero-works) fol.

1584 Geneva. Lambinus and Orsini. Printed by Jeremias Desplanches. Folio. 2 or 4 vols. First edition: 1565. Fabricius, 221; Bipontine, I xc; Dibdin, 399; Moss, 294; Graesse, 157; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93; Chaix, 110. Schweiger, 105, mentions an edition, published by Santandreanus, at Lyon in 1585, which Orelli, 206, suggests was the same as this.

1585 London. Lambinus. Published by John Jackson and Edmund Carpenter (alias Bollifant). Octavo. 9 vols. Complete works: *Ac1* in vol. VII. First edition: 1565. Schweiger, 105; Orelli, 206; Deschamps, 52; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93.

1585 Lyon. Lambinus and Orsini. Published by A. Gryphius. Folio. 4 vols. Complete works. First edition: 1565. Orelli, 206; Baudrier, VIII 392–3.

*1585 Lyon. Brutus. Published by A. Gryphius. 16mo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 95–114). First edition: 1540. Bipontine, I lxxxix; Dibdin, 395; Orelli, 206; Moss, 291; Deschamps, 51; Baudrier, VIII 393; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93. Brit. Libr. 524.a.8. Pease describes an octavo edition of the complete works in 9 vols.

*1585 Venice. Brutus. Published by Dominicus Nicolinus. 16mo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 95–114). First edition: 1540. Brit. Libr. 832.a.20.

1588 Lyon. Lambinus with notes by Dionysius Gothofredus (Denis Godefroy). Published by Sibylla de la Porte. Quarto. 4 vols. First edition: 1565. Fabricius, 221; Bipontine, I xc; Dibdin, 398; Schweiger, 105; Orelli, 206; Graesse, 157; Deschamps, 52; Baudrier, VII 354; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93.

1588 Lyon. Lambinus and Godefroy. Folio. 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Dibdin, 399; Moss, 294; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93.

1588 Lyon or Basle. Alexander Scot. Published by Jean Pillehotte. 12mo. 9 vols. Later editions: 1589, 1606, 1608–10, 1612, 1624, 1627. Bipontine, I xc; Orelli, 206; Graesse, 157; Baudrier, II 270, 283, 293; Sandys, II 146; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93; Glucker, *Chapter* 108.

1589 Lyon. Scot. Published by Pillehotte. 16mo. Complete works. First edition: 1588. Baudrier, II 293.

1590 Frankfurt. Fridericus Sylburgius. Published by the heirs of Andreas Wechel. Octavo. 10 vols. Later editions: 1603, 1606 (2), 1609. Bipontine, I xci; Dibdin, 400; Schweiger, 105–6; Orelli, 206; Moss, 294; Graesse, 157; Pease, *Div* 624, *Nat* 93.

*1594 Heidelberg. Turnebus. Published by Hieronymus Comelinus. Octavo. 110 pp. *Ac1* (5–48) and *Fat* only. First edition: 1553. W. Port, *Hieronymus Commelinus* 1550–1597, Leipzig, 1938, 64. Brit. Libr. 527.d.2.

*1594 Lyon. Lambinus and Godefroy. Printed by Guillaume Lemaire. Octavo. 1 vol. Complete works (*Ac1*: 1665–1672). First edition: 1565. Chaix, 140. Brit. Libr. 656.a.1.

1594 Geneva. Lambinus. Published by François le Preux. Octavo. First edition: 1565. Fabricius, 221; Bipontine, I xci; Moss, 294; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 93; Chaix, 140.

*1596 Lyon. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by Lemaire. Quarto. 4 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: IV, 3–14). First edition: 1565. Bipontine, I xci; Schweiger, 106; Graesse, 157; Chaix, 147. Brit. Libr. 11396.k.5.

1596 Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by the heirs of Eustath. Vignon. Quarto. 1 or 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Fabricius, 221; Orelli, 206; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94; Chaix, 147.

1603 Hannover. Sylburgius. Published by Wechel. 12mo. First edition: 1590. Bipontine, I xci; Moss, 294; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94.

1606 Hannover. Sylburgius. Published by Wechel. Octavo. 10 vols. Complete works. First edition: 1590. Ernesti, I xli; Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 207; Moss, 294; Pease, *Nat* 94. Pease describes a 12mo edition of the philosophical works in 2 vols.

1606 Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by S. Chouet. Quarto. First edition: 1565. Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94.

1606 Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by the heirs of Eustath. Vignon. Quarto. 4 vols. First edition: 1565. Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 206; Graesse, 157.

1606 Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by Pierre de la Rovière. Quarto or folio. 4 tomes in 1 or 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Bipontine, I xci; Orelli, 206; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94.

*1606 Lyon. Scot. Published by Pillehotte. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 11–26). First edition: 1588. Bibl. Nat. Cat., 39 no. 290. Bodleian Libr. 8° T. 11 Jur. The first edition to contain paragraph numbers (1–46) for certain.

1606 Frankfurt. Sylburgius. Published by Wechel. Octavo. 5 or 10 vols. First edition: 1590. Bipontine, I xci; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94.

1608	Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by Henry Fetherston. Octavo. 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Fabricius, 221; Bipontine, I xci; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94.
1608–10	Lyon. Scot. Published by Pillehotte. 16mo. 8 tomes in 7 vols. First edition: 1588. Bibl. Nat. Cat., 13 no. 50.
1609	Frankfurt or Hannover. Sylburgius. Published by Wechel. Octavo. 8 or 10 vols. First edition: 1590. Fabricius, 221; Ernesti, I xli; Bipontine, I xci; Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 207; Moss, 294; Bibl. Nat. Cat., 39 no. 291; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94.
1612	Geneva. Scot. First edition: 1588. Bipontine, I xc; Pease, *Nat* 94.
1612	Lyon. Published by C. Morillon. 16mo. 304 pp. Bibl. Nat. Cat. 62 no. 480.
1614	Lyon. Published by Pierre Rigaud. 16mo. 304 pp. Bibl. Nat. Cat. 62 no. 481.
1615–16	Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by de la Rovière. Folio. 4 tomes in 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94.
1616	Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by de la Rovière. Folio. 4 tomes in 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Bipontine, I xci; Orelli, 207; Pease, *Nat* 94; Glucker, *Chapter* 109.
1616	Lyon. Lambinus and Godefroy. Octavo. 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Bipontine, I xci; Orelli, 207; Pease, *Nat* 94.
1617	Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by P. and J. Chouet. Quarto. 4 vols. First edition: 1565. Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 207; Graesse, 157; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94.
*1618	Hamburg. Jan Gruter and Jan Wilhelms. Published by Froben. Folio. 4 tomes in 2 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: IV, 3–8). Later editions: 1665, 1747. Fabricius, 220; Ernesti, I xlii–xliii; Bipontine, I xciii; Harwood, 202; Dibdin, 400; Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 207; Moss, 295; Brunet, 8; Graesse, 157; Deschamps, 53; Madvig, x; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94; Schmidt, 22, 219–21; Glucker, *Chapter* 105. Brit. Libr. 584.1.2. The first edition to contain chapter numbers (1–12).
1620	Basle. 12mo. 9 vols. Bipontine, I xci; Orelli, 207; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94.
1624	Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Octavo. 1 vol or 2 tomes. First edition: 1565. Fabricius, 221; Bipontine, I xci; Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 207; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94.
1624	Paris. Scot. First edition: 1588. Bipontine, I xc; Pease, *Nat* 94.
1625	Geneva. Lambinus. Published by Fetherston. Octavo. 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Brit. Libr. Cat., 328.

1626 Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by Fetherston. Octavo. 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Bipontine, I xci; Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 207; Graesse, 157; Pease, *Nat* 94.

1627 Geneva. Scot. First edition: 1588. Bipontine, I xc; Pease, *Nat* 94.

1633 Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by P. and J. Chouet. Quarto. 4 tomes in 1 or 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Fabricius, 221; Bipontine, I xci; Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 207; Graesse, 157; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 94.

*1642 Leiden. Published by Elzevir. 12mo. 10 tomes in 9 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: VII, 5–22). Later edition: 1659. Fabricius, 220; Bipontine, I xciii; Harwood, 202; Dibdin, 400–1; Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 207; Moss, 295; Brunet, 8; Graesse, 157; Deschamps, 53; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 95; Glucker, *Chapter* 105. Brit. Libr. 989.a.8. Based on Manutius.

1646 Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by S. Chouet. Quarto. 1 vol. or 4 tomes in 2 vols. First edition: 1565. Bipontine, I xci; Orelli, 207; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 95.

*1659 Amsterdam. Published by Joannes Blaeu. 24mo. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 5–24). First edition: 1642. Fabricius, 220; Bipontine, I xciii; Harwood, 202; Dibdin, 402 n; Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 208; Moss, 295; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 95. Brit. Libr. 524.a.11. Reprint of the 1642 edition.

1659 Basle. Quarto. Bipontine, I xciii; Pease, *Nat* 95.

1659–60 Geneva. Lambinus and Godefroy. Published by S. Chouet. Quarto or octavo. 4 vols. First edition: 1565. Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 207; Graesse, 157; Pease, *Div* 625, *Nat* 95.

*1661 Amsterdam and Leiden. Cornelius Schrevelius. Published by Louis and Daniel Elzevir, and Franciscus Hackius. Quarto. 1 or 2 vols. in 4 parts. Complete works (*Ac1*: IV, 971–6). Later editions: 1661, 1687 (2). Fabricius, 220; Bipontine, I xciii; Harwood, 202; Dibdin, 401–2; Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 208; Moss, 295–6; Deschamps, 53; Brunet, 9; Graesse, 157; Pease, *Div* 626, *Nat* 95; Glucker, *Chapter* 105 n. 7, 110. Brit. Libr. 54.c.8. Based on Gruter.

1661 Basle. Schrevelius. Published by Leonard Chouet and Jo. Ant. Cramer. First edition: 1661. Bipontine, I xciii; Pease, *Nat* 95.

1665 Amsterdam. Gruter. Published by L. and D. Elzevir. Quarto. 2 vols. First edition: 1618. Brunet, *Suppl.* 265; Pease, *Div* 626, *Nat* 95.

*1680 London. Thomas Gale or Adam Littleton. Published by J. Dunmore, T. Dring, B. Tooke, T. Sawbridge, and C. Mearne. Folio. 4 tomes in 2 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: IV, 285–9). Later

edition: 1757. Fabricius, 220; Ernesti, I xlii–xliii; Bipontine, I xciv; Harwood, 202; Dibdin, 400; Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 208; Brunet, 10; Graesse, 157; Pease, *Div* 626, *Nat* 95. Brit. Libr. 94.1.4. Gruter's text.

1682 Leiden. Jakob Gronovius. Later edition: 1692. Glucker, *Chapter* 105, 108, 110.

*1687 Basle. Schrevelius. Published by L. Chouet and Cramer. Quarto. 4 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: 1021–6). First edition: 1661. Bipontine, I xciv; Schweiger, 106; Orelli, 208; Graesse, 157; Pease, *Div* 626, *Nat* 95. Brit. Libr. 1474.c.23.

1687 Venice. Schrevelius. Quarto. 4 vols. First edition: 1661. Bipontine, I xciv; Orelli, 208; Pease, *Div* 626, *Nat* 95.

*1689 Paris. Franciscus L'Honoré. Published by the widow of Claude Thiboust, and Pierre Esclassan. Quarto. 2 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: I, 1–20). Bipontine, I xciv; Harwood, 213, 296; Schweiger, 173; Orelli, 311; Moss, 337–8; Brunet, 16; Graesse, 171; Pease, *Nat* 95. Brit. Libr. 54.d.5. Delphin Classics. Based on Manutius.

*1692 Leiden. Gronovius. Published by Peter van der Aa. Quarto. 4 tomes in 2 vols. (12mo, 11 vols. according to Harwood). Complete works (*Ac1*: IV, 1057–62). First edition: 1682. Fabricius, 220; Bipontine, I xciv; Harwood, 202; Dibdin, 402; Schweiger, 107; Orelli, 209; Moss, 296; Brunet, 10; Graesse, 158; Madvig, xii; Pease, *Div* 626, *Nat* 95; Glucker, *Chapter* 110. Brit. Libr. 1474.cc.4. It is thought that the name of Gronovius was 'lent' to this edition to give it respectability. Based on Gruter.

*1724 Amsterdam. Isaac Verburgius. Published by Rod. and Gerh. Wetsten. Folio, 2 vols.; quarto, 4 vols.; or octavo, 11 vols. or 16 tomes in 12 vols. Complete works (*Ac1*: II ii, 563–9). Later edition: 1731. Fabricius, 220; Ernesti, I xliii; Bipontine, I xciv; Harwood, 202–3; Dibdin, 402; Schweiger, 107; Orelli, 209; Moss, 296; Brunet, 10; Graesse, 158; Deschamps, 54; Pease, *Div* 626, *Nat* 96; Glucker, *Chapter* 110–1. Brit. Libr. 656.g.8. Gronovius' text.

*1725 Cambridge. John Davies. Published by Corn. Crownfield. Octavo. 1 vol. *Ac1* (4–50) and *Luc* only. Later editions: 1736, 1746. Bipontine, I xcvii; Harwood, 212; Dibdin, 456–7; Schweiger, 175; Orelli, 313; Moss, 341; Brunet, 9; Graesse, 171; Madvig, xii–xiv; Engelmann, 152; Reid, 71; Schmidt, 303, 316, 321. Brit. Libr. 999.e.8.

1731 Venice. Verburgius. Published by Franciscus Pitteri. Octavo. 12 vols. Complete works. First edition: 1724. Bipontine, I xcv; Dibdin, 402; Schweiger, 107; Orelli, 209; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 626, *Nat* 96.

*1736 Cambridge. Davies. Published by Jac. Joan. and Paul Knapton, Joan. Crownfield, and C. Hoguel. Octavo. 1 vol. *Acl* (4–59) and *Luc* only. First edition: 1725. Harwood, 212; Dibdin, 456–7; Schweiger, 173–4; Orelli, 311; Moss, 341; Graesse, 171; Engelmann, 152; Reid, 71. Brit. Libr. 720.g.20. Copy used contains hand-written notes by D. Durand.

*1737 Leipzig. Johann August Ernesti. Published by Christian Martin. Octavo. 6 vols. in 4 parts with *Clavis*. Complete works (*Acl*: IV, 2–18). Later editions: 1757, 1772, 1776, 1783, 1804 (2), 1810, 1814–21, 1816 (2), 1819, 1820, 1823, 1830. Fabricius, 220; Bipontine, I xcvii–xcviii; Dibdin, 403; Schweiger, 107–8; Orelli, 209; Moss, 296–7; Brunet, 12; Graesse, 158; Deschamps, 55; Pease, *Div* 626, *Nat* 96; Glucker, *Chapter* 110. Warburg Inst. HPH 600.

*1740 London. David Durand. Published by Paul Vaillant. Octavo. 364 pp. *Acl* (241–264) and *Luc* only. Later edition: 1796. Dibdin, 456–7; Schweiger, 175; Orelli, 313; Moss, 341, 365–6; Graesse, 171; Deschamps, 55; Engelmann, 152; Reid, 72. Brit. Libr. 720.b.8. Davies' text with French translation.

*1740 Paris. Josephus Olivetus (Pierre Joseph de Thoulié). Published by Joan. Bapt. Coignard, Hipp. Lud. Guérin, Joan. Desaint, and Jac. Guérin. Quarto. 9 vols. Complete works (*Acl*: II, 62–76). Later editions: 1742, 1743–6, 1745–7, 1748, 1753, 1758, 1772, 1773, 1776, 1783–1821, 1787. Fabricius, 221; Ernesti, I xliv; Bipontine, I xcviii–xcix; Harwood, 203; Dibdin, 404–5; Schweiger, 108; Orelli, 209–10; Moss, 297–8; Brunet, 11; Graesse, 158; Deschamps, 55; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 626–7, *Nat* 96; Glucker, *Chapter* 110. Brit. Libr. 55.h.3.

1742 Padua. Olivetus with notes by Jacopo Facciolati. Published by Joannes Manfrè. Octavo. 11 vols. First edition: 1740. Schweiger, 108; Orelli, 210; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 96.

*1743 Venice. Jo. Franc. Conrad de Allio. Published by Fentius. Octavo. vi + 194 pp. *Acl* (5–42) and *Luc* only. Schweiger, 175; Orelli, 313–4; Graesse, 171; Engelmann, 152; Bibl. Nat. Cat., 62 no 484. Bodleian Libr. 8° H 222 Art. The edition itself is undated. Valentinelli, IV 79, states that de Allio was Lallemand (1768).

1743–6 Geneva. Olivetus. Published by the Cramer heirs and F. Philibert. Quarto. 9 vols. First edition: 1740. Ernesti, I xliv; Harwood, 203; Schweiger, 108; Orelli, 210; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 96.

1745 Berlin. I.P. Miller. Published by Haude. Octavo. 4 vols. Philosophical works. Later edition: 1772. Schweiger, 174; Orelli, 311; Engelmann, 151; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 96. Reprint of the 1680 London edition.

1745–7 Amsterdam. Olivetus. Published by J. Wetsten. Quarto. 9 vols. First edition: 1740. Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 96.

1746 London. Davies. Octavo. First edition: 1725. Dibdin, 456–7; Moss, 341.

1746 ff. Oxford and Cambridge. Octavo. 9 vols. Rhetorical and philosophical works. Pease, *Nat* 96.

1747 Berlin. Gruter. Octavo. First edition: 1618. Bipontine, I xcviii; Dibdin, 400; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 96.

*1748 Glasgow. Olivetus. Published by Rob. and And. Foulis. 12mo. or 16mo. 20 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: XV, 115–42). First edition: 1740. Harwood, 203; Dibdin, 406; Schweiger, 108; Orelli, 210; Moss, 298; Brunet, 12; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97. Brit. Libr. 165.c.17.

1748 Cologne or Basle. Io. Guernerius Huber. Published by Petrus Martellus. Octavo. 30 pp. Goerenz, vii; Schweiger, 175; Orelli, 315; Graesse, 171; Engelmann, 152.

*1753 Padua. Olivetus and Facciolati. Published by Joannes Manfré. Quarto. 9 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: II, 80–100). First edition: 1740. Dibdin, 404–5; Schweiger, 108; Orelli, 210; Brunet, 11; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97. Senate House Libr. 56.f.2.

1757 Halle. Ernesti. Octavo. 4 vols. First edition: 1737. Fabricius, 220; Bipontine, I xcviii; Harwood, 203; Dibdin, 403; Schweiger, 108; Orelli, 210; Moss, 296–7; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97.

1757 Berlin. Gale. Octavo. First edition: 1680. Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97.

*1758 Geneva. Olivetus. Published by Cramer brothers. Quarto. 9 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: II, 79–99). First edition: 1740. Fabricius, 221; Bipontine, I xcix; Harwood, 203; Dibdin, 404–5; Schweiger, 108; Orelli, 210; Moss, 297–8; Brunet, 12; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97. Brit. Libr. 656.b.6.

*1768 Paris. J.N. Lallemand. Published by Saillant, Desaint and Barbou. 12mo. 14 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: IX, 105–28). Fabricius, 221; Ernesti, I xlv; Bipontine, I xcix; Harwood, 203–4; Dibdin, 406; Schweiger, 108–9; Orelli, 210; Moss, 298–9; Brunet, 12; Graesse, 158; Deschamps, 57; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97. Brit. Libr. 159.b.15. Ernesti expands Lallemand's name as 'J. Nicolaus Alemannus'. Cf. de Allio (1743). Olivetus' text.

1772 Berlin. Miller. Published by Haude and Spener. Octavo. 4 vols. Philosophical works. First edition: 1745. Schweiger, 174; Orelli, 312; Engelmann, 151; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97.

1772 Halle. Ernesti. Octavo. 9 vols. First edition: 1737. Pease, *Nat* 97.

1772 Venice. Olivetus and Facciolati. Published by A. Graziosi. Quarto. 9 vols. First edition: 1740. Harwood, 203; Orelli, 211; Brunet, 11; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97.

1773 Padua. Olivetus. Published by Manfré. Octavo. 16 vols. First edition: 1740. Bipontine, I xcix; Harwood, 203; Schweiger, 109; Orelli, 211; Engelmann, 151; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97.

1776 Padua. Olivetus. Octavo. 16 vols. First edition: 1740. Dibdin, 405; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97.

1776 Würzburg. Published by J.J. Stahel. Octavo. 8 vols. Bipontine, I xcix; Dibdin, 405; Schweiger, 109; Orelli, 211; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97.

*1776 Halle. Ernesti. Published 'in Orphanotropheo'. Octavo. 4 vols. in 7 parts + *Clavis*. Complete works (*Acl*: IV Part 1, 2–21). First edition: 1737. Harwood, 203; Dibdin, 403; Schweiger, 109; Orelli, 211; Moss, 296–7; Brunet, 12; Deschamps, 55; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97; Glucker, *Chapter* 110–1. Brit. Libr. 672.e.6. Based on Gronovius.

1779 Berlin. Jean Salvemini de Castillon. Published by G.J. Decker. Octavo. 2 vols. Le Clerc, 27; Bouillet, ix–x; Moss, 366; Brunet, 55; Reid, 72; Bibl. Nat. Cat., 63 no. 491. With French translation.

*1781 Zweibrücken. F.C. Exter or G.C. Croll. Published by the Societas Bipontina. Octavo. 13 vols. Complete works (*Acl*: X, 33–53). Dibdin, 407; Schweiger, 109; Orelli, 212; Moss, 299; Graesse, 158; Sandys, II 397; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat.* 97. Brit. Libr. 160.e.10. Ernesti's text. Usually referred to as 'Bipontine' edition.

*1783 Oxford. Published by Clarendon Press. Quarto. 10 vols. Complete works (*Acl*: II, 62–76). Dibdin, 404–6; Schweiger, 109; Orelli, 212; Moss, 297–8; Brunet, 12; Graesse, 158; Madvig, xiv–xv; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 627, *Nat* 97; Schmidt, 22. Brit. Libr. 674.i.2. Olivetus' text.

1783 Halle. Ernesti. Published 'in Orphanotropheo'. Octavo. First edition: 1737. Orelli, 314.

1783–7 Leipzig. Octavo. 20 tomes in 10 vols. Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat* 97.

1783–1821 Paris. Olivetus. Quarto. 9 vols. First edition: 1740. Pease, *Nat* 97.

1786 Vienna. F.C. Alter. Published by Ioan. Thom. Nob. von Trattnern. Octavo. 632 pp. *Fin*, *Acl*, *Tusc*, *Fat* only. Rath, xii; Schweiger, 174; Orelli, 312; Madvig, xix; Engelmann, 152; Bibl. Nat. Cat., 63 no. 485.

*1786 Mannheim. Published by the Societas Literata (Löffler). Octavo. 20 vols. Complete works (*Acl*: XVI, 7–32). Later edition: 1823.

Schweiger, 109; Orelli, 212; Engelmann, 152; Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat* 97. Brit. Libr. 833.b.21. Based on Bipontine edition.

1787 Padua. Olivetus. Octavo. 16 vols. First edition: 1740. Brunet, 11; Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat* 97.

1790 Vienna. Published by Chr. F. Wappler. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works. Later edition: 1800–03. Schweiger, 174; Moss, 364; Orelli, 312; Engelmann, 151; Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat* 98. Based on Ernesti.

*1796 Paris. Durand. Published by Barbou Frères. 12mo. 570 pp. *Ac1* (209–231) and *Luc* only. First edition: 1740. Schweiger, 175; Orelli, 314; Engelmann, 152; Sandys, II 38–9. Brit. Libr. 720.b.9. With French translation by Durand. Bibl. Nat. Cat., 64 no. 492, lists an edition (12mo, iv + 490 pp.) published by Chambry and Dewailly.

1797 Madrid. P.I. Pereyra or J.A. Melón. Published by the Typographia Regia. Quarto. 14 vols. *Ac1* in vol. X. Dibdin, 408; Schweiger, 110; Orelli, 213; Brunet, 12; Graesse, 158; Engelmann, 127; Menéndez y Pelayo, 241; Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat*, 98. Olivetus' text.

1799 Braunschweig. Johann Christian Friedrich Wetzel. Published by the Schulbuchhandlung. Octavo. 2 vols. Schweiger, 175; Orelli, 314; Engelmann, 152; Reid, 71; Pease, *Nat* 98.

1800–03 Vienna. Published by Beck. Octavo. 2 vols. Philosophical works. First edition: 1790. Engelmann, 151; Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat* 98.

1802 Vienna. Octavo. 16 vols. Schweiger, 110; Orelli, 213; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat* 98. With German translation.

1804 Rotterdam. Ernesti. Published by Looy and van Spaan. 12mo. 3 vols. First edition: 1737. Schweiger, 174; Orelli, 312; Pease, *Nat* 98.

1804 Leiden and Amsterdam. Ernesti. Published by Luchtmans and P. den Hengst. 12mo. 3 vols. Philosophical works. First edition: 1737. Engelmann, 151; Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat* 98.

*1806 Halle. Rudolphus Godoholdus Rath. Published by Karl August Kümmel. Octavo. 6 vols. Philosophical works (*Ac1*: III, 4–63). Dibdin, 460; Schweiger, 174; Orelli, 312; Moss, 338; Brunet, 16; Engelmann, 151; Reid, 71; Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat* 98. Brit. Libr. 165.l.7. Based on Davies.

1806 Magdeburg. Frid. Hülsemann. Published by Keil. Octavo. xx + 651 pp. Dibdin, 460–1; Le Clerc, 25; Schweiger, 176; Orelli, 314; Moss, 341; Graesse, 171; Engelmann, 152; Reid, 71; Bibl. Nat. Cat., 63 no. 486; Pease, *Nat* 98.

*1810 Leipzig and London. Johann August Goerenz. Published by Weidmann, and J. MacKinlay and W.H. Lunn. Octavo. 3 vols.

Leg, *AcI* (II, 1–72), *Luc*, and *Fin* only. Dibdin, 461; Schweiger, 110; Orelli, 312; Moss, 338–9, 341–2; Graesse, 171; Madvig, xv–xix; Reid, 71. Brit. Libr. 8408.c.14.

1810 Oxford. Ernesti. Published by Collingwood & Co. Octavo. 4 tomes in 7 vols + *Clavis*. First edition: 1737. Dibdin, 403–4; Orelli, 213; Moss, 300; Brunet, 12; Graesse, 158; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat* 98.

1814–21 Leipzig. Ernesti. Published by Tauchnitz. 12mo. 12 vols. First edition: 1737. Orelli, 213; Moss, 300; Engelmann, 127; Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat* 98.

1815 ff. Leipzig. K.F.A. Nobbe. Published by Tauchnitz. 16mo. 10 vols. Later editions: 1827, 1828, 1849–50, 1850, 1866–73, 1869. Schweiger, 110; Pease, *Nat* 99.

*1816 Boston (Mass.). Ernesti. Published by Wells and Lilly. Octavo (16 or 20 vols) or 12mo. (32 vols). Complete works (*AcI*: XIV, 11–36). First edition: 1737. Dibdin, 404; Schweiger, 110; Orelli, 213; Graesse, 159; Deschamps, 57; Engelmann, 128; Pease, *Div* 629, *Nat* 99. Brit. Libr. 11396.b.24. Part of *Scriptores Romani* series.

*1816 Leipzig. Christian Gottfried Schütz. Published by Gerhard Fleischer Jun. Octavo. 19 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: XIII, 138–64). Later edition: 1829. Dibdin, 408; Schweiger, 110; Orelli, 213; Moss, 300; Brunet, 13; Graesse, 158–9; Engelmann, 128; Sandys, II 46 n.4; Pease, *Div* 628, *Nat* 98; Glucker, *Chapter* 110. Brit. Libr. 159.k.20. Based on Goerenz.

1816 Oxford. Ernesti. Octavo. 8 vols. First edition: 1737. Moss, 300; Pease, *Div* 629, *Nat* 99.

1816–22 Leipzig. Published by Tauchnitz. 24mo. 13 vols. Pease, *Nat* 99.

*1817 Paris. Published by F.I. Fournier. Octavo. 29 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: XXI, 164–207). Schweiger, 110; Orelli, 213; Moss, 361; Graesse, 159; Engelmann, 128; Pease, *Div* 629, *Nat* 99. Brit. Libr. 247.f.21. Text of Ernesti with French translation by J.B. Levée similar to Castillon.

*1819 London. Ernesti. Published by R. Priestley. Octavo. 8 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: IV Part 1, 2–19). First edition: 1737. Dibdin, 403–4; Schweiger, 110; Moss, 301; Brunet, 12; Graesse, 159; Engelmann, 128; Pease, *Div* 629, *Nat* 99. Senate House Libr. Bb [Cicero]. Reprint of Oxford (1810) edition.

*1820 London. John Carey. Published by Rodwell and Martin; J. Booker; Baldwin, Cradock and Joy; G. and W.B. Whittaker; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown; Cadell and Davies; Edwards and Knibb; and J. Robinson. 24mo or 18mo. 12 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: II, 265–81). Schweiger, 110; Orelli, 213; Moss, 301; Graesse, 159; Engelmann, 128; Pease, *Div* 629, *Nat*

99. Brit. Libr. 11312.a.4. Based on Olivetus and Ernesti. Part of the Regent's Classics series.

1820 Halle and Berlin. Ernesti. Octavo. 10 vols. First edition: 1737. Dibdin, 403–4.

*1821 Paris. Josèph Victor Le Clerc. Published by Lefèvre. Octavo. 30 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: XXII, 36–79). Later edition: 1826. Schweiger, 110; Orelli, 214; Graesse, 159; Deschamps, 106; Engelmann, 128; Pease, *Div* 629, *Nat* 99. Brit. Libr. 831.c.22. With French translation of Castillon, revised by Le Clerc. Based on Ernesti, with use of Goerenz, Durand and Davies.

1823 Paris. Published by Delalain. 12mo. 87 pp. *AcI* and *Luc* only. Bibl. Nat. Cat., 63 no. 487.

*1823 Leipzig and Halle. Ernesti. Published 'in libraria Orphanotrophei'. Octavo. 8 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: IV Part 1, 2–20). First edition: 1737. Orelli, 213; Engelmann, 128; Pease, *Div* 629, *Nat* 99. Brit. Libr. 1069.c.10.

1823 Mannheim. Published by Löffler. Octavo. 5 or 20 vols. *Fin*, *AcI*, *Tusc*, *Fat* only. First edition: 1786. Schweiger, 174; Orelli, 312; Engelmann, 127, 152; Pease, *Nat* 99.

1823–4 Turin. Octavo. 16 vols. Pease, *Div* 629, *Nat* 99.

*1824 Paris. J.J. Amar. Published by Lefèvre. 12mo. 18 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: XIV, 1–25). Schweiger, 110; Orelli, 214; Graesse, 159; Deschamps, 57; Engelmann, 128; Pease, *Div* 629, *Nat* 99. Brit. Libr. 834.a.23. Based on Le Clerc's edition. With French translation.

*1826 Paris. Le Clerc. Published by Werdet and E.A. Lequien. 24mo or 12mo. 35 vols. Complete works (*AcI*: XXVI, 42–94). First edition: 1821. Orelli, 214; Graesse, 159; Engelmann, 128; Pease, *Div* 629, *Nat* 99. Senate House Libr. Bb [Cicero]. With French translation by Castillon.

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